

After Dinner I went five *Cosses* further to the Town of *Muddol*,<sup>104</sup> seated on the left hand of a River, a matter of great Consideration on a Road where I sometimes drank Water muddy'd by the Cattle. There is a Mud Fort, as are the Walls of the Town, nor do the Cottages of the Natives deserve better Fortifications. As I was getting off my Horse I fell so violently upon my side that I could not breath for a quarter of an hour, and was in some danger of Death ; I was ill of it many Days after, tho' I Blooded, and us'd other Remedies.

## CHAPTER II

### THE AUTHOR'S ARRIVAL AT GALGALA, WHERE THE GREAT MOGUL WAS INCAMP'D.

*Thursday* 17th, after Riding five *Cosses* I pass'd through a Wall'd Town call'd *Matur*,<sup>1</sup> and two *Cosses* further to the Village of *Galgala*<sup>2</sup> where the *Moguls* Camp was. Crossing the River *Kiscina*<sup>3</sup> I came into the Quarters of the *Mahometans* call'd *Lascaris*,<sup>4</sup> and some Christian Souldiers of *Agra* entertain'd me.

*Friday* 18th, I went to the Christian Gunner's Quarter to hear Mass, and found a convenient Chappel of Mud Walls, serv'd by two *Canarine* Priests, maintain'd by the Catholics. After Mass *Francis Borgia*<sup>5</sup> by extraction a *Venetian* but born at *Dehli*, invited me to his House. He being Captain of the Christians, an hour after<sup>6</sup> caus'd two *Mahometans* that had made themselves Drunk to be cruelly beaten before me, bound to a Stake. When they were set loose, they return'd him thanks for chastizing them, laying their Hands on the Ground first, and then on their Heads, after the Country Fashion.

That same Day the King put the Question to the *Kasi*,<sup>7</sup> or Judge of the Law, whether it was more for Gods service to go fight his Enemies to spread the *Mahometan* Sect, or else to go over to *Visapor* to keep the *Ramazan*, or their Lent. The *Casi* requir'd time to answer, which pleas'd the *Mogul*, who was a great Dissembler and Hypocrite, and never did as he said.

*Saturday* 19th. I went to *Gulalbar*<sup>8</sup> (so they call King's Quarters) and found the King was then giving Audience, but The King's Quarters. there was such a Multitude and Confusion that I could not have a good sight of him. The King's and Princes Tents took up three Miles in Compass, and were defended every way with Palisadoes, Ditches and five hundred Falconets. There were three Gates into them one for the *Aram*<sup>10</sup> or Women, and two for the King and his Court.





The *Mogul's*  
Camp.

I was told the Forces in this Camp amounted to 60000 Horse, and 1000000<sup>11</sup> Foot, for whose Baggage there were 50000 Camels, and 3000 Elephants; but that the Sutlers, Merchants and Artificers were much more numerous, the whole Camp being a moving City containing 500000 Souls, and abounding not only in Provisions, but in all things that could be desir'd. There were 250 *Bazars* or Markets, every *Omrah*, or General having one to serve his Men. In short the whole Camp was thirty Miles about.<sup>12</sup>

*Omrahs*

These *Omrahs* are oblig'd to maintain a certain number of Horse and Foot at their own Expence; but the *Mogul* assigns them the Revenues of Countries<sup>13</sup> and Provinces, whilst they continue in that Post. Some of them make a Million and a half a Year of these *Giaghers*,<sup>14</sup> or Feofs; others less, according to the Number of Souldiers they are to maintain. But the Princes of the Blood have the best, some of which are worth a Million and a half of *Roupies* a Month. They are not only oblig'd to serve in War, but to attend the King at all times, tho' he only goes abroad to divert him. To this purpose they all keep Spies at Court, for upon every failure a *Gari*<sup>15</sup> is taken from them, which is 3900 *Roupies*, or less proportionably to every Man's Pay.

Tho' these Generals are in so fair a way to heap Wealth;<sup>16</sup> yet when they are found faulty, as keeping a smaller Number of Souldiers than is their *quota* they are Punished<sup>17</sup> by pecuniary Mulcts. And tho' they should combine with the Commissaries that Muster them, it would avail but little: Because when they dye the Exchequer is their Heir, and only a bare subsistence is allow'd the Wife,<sup>18</sup> and for the Children they say the King will bestow more Riches on them, than he did on their Father, whensoever their faithful Services shall deserve it.<sup>19</sup> These Generals command every one his own Troops, without being subordinate to another; only obeying a Lieutenant of the Kings, when he is not there in Person, call'd *Gium-Detol-Molk*,<sup>20</sup> who receives the King's Orders, to communicate them to the Generals. Hence it is that they being lazy and undisciplin'd, go upon service when they please, and there is no great Danger. Many *French* men belonging to the Army, told me<sup>21</sup> it was a Pleasure and Diversion to serve the *Mogul*, because they that will not Fight, or do not keep their Guards are Subject to no other Penalty, but losing that days Pay, that they are convicted of having 'Trangress'd; and that they themselves did not value Honour much in the Service of a Barbarous King, who has no Hospital for the wounded Men. On the other side there being no Prince in the World that pays his Souldiers better, a Stranger that goes into his Service soon grows Rich, especially an *European* or *Persian*; but once in, it is a very hard matter to get a discharge to go home to

The *Mogul's*  
good service.



enjoy what is got, any other way than making an escape. The Country not affording so many Horses as are requisite for so great an Army, they bring them out of *Persia*, and *Arabia*,<sup>Horses.</sup> some at 1000, or 2000 *Roupies* purchase, and the lowest at 400. And because no Barly grows in *Indostan*<sup>22</sup> they give them four Pounds of boil'd Lentils<sup>23</sup> a Day, and in Winter they add half a Pound of Butter, and as much Sugar, four ounces of Pepper, and some dry Straw. *With the Author's leave, he seems here to impose upon the Reader, or be himself impos'd upon worse than Tavernier was with the Crabs.*<sup>23a</sup>

It is also a vast expence to maintain so great a Number <sup>Elephants.</sup> of Elephants; for every one of them Eats at least 140 Pounds of Corn every day, besides Leaves, Green Canes, Sugar and Pepper so that the King allows 7 *Roupies* a day for every one. He has 3000 throughout his Empire, and three General Elephants. Each of these has half a Million of *Roupies* allowance a Month which are spent in keeping 500 other Elephants that are under him, and 200 Men that look to them. At this time there were but 500 belonging to the King in the Field; besides those belonging to the Princes and Omrahs,<sup>24</sup> who keep some 400, some 200, and others more or less.

*Sunday* 20th, going to the Tents of the King's Eldest Son, <sup>Mogul's</sup> whose name was *Scialam*.<sup>25</sup> I found about 2000 Souldiers <sup>Son.</sup> Horse and Food drawn up, expecting<sup>26</sup> the Prince, who came from his Fathers quarters. Waiting I saw his Son<sup>27</sup> come out and Mount a Horse-back to go meet his Father; as soon as he saw him he alighted<sup>28</sup> in token of respect. *Scialam* was 65 Years of Age, Tall, and full Body'd,<sup>29</sup> with a thick long Beard, which began to be Grey. Having such a Title to the Crown, many Thousands of the Souldiers are of his Faction; who being imprison'd, continu'd resolute, refusing to receive any other Pay, notwithstanding he reliev'd them but meanly.

*Monday* 21st, by the means of a Christian of *Agra*, and <sup>The King's</sup> an Eunuch his Friend I had the Fortune to be admitted to a <sup>Quarters.</sup> private Audience of the King. In the first Court of the King's Quarters, which had two Doors, in a large Tent I saw Kettle-Drums, Trumpets eight Spans long, and other Instruments,<sup>30</sup> which use to sound at certain Hours of the Day and Night, according as occasion requires; and that day made their noise before Noon.<sup>31</sup> There was also a Gold Ball<sup>32</sup> between two Gilt Hands,<sup>33</sup> hanging by a Chain; the King's Ensign, which is carry'd on the Elephants, when they March. I pass'd on into the second Court, and then into the Royal Tents, and King's Apartments, adorn'd with Silks and Cloth of Gold. Finding the King in one of these Rooms, sitting after the Country manner, on Rich Carpets, and Pillars Embroider'd with Gold, Having made my Obeisance after the *Mogul* Fashion, I drew near, the same Christian being my Interpreter. He ask'd me





of what Kingdom of *Europe* I was, how long I had been come thence, where I had been, and what<sup>34</sup> I came to his Camp for, whether I would serve him, and whither I design'd to go? I answered accordingly, that I was a *Neapolitan*, and came thence two Years before; during which time I had seen *Egypt*, the Grand Signior's Dominions, and the *Persian* Monarchy, that I was now come into his Camp, only out of curiosity to see the greatest Monarch in *Asia*, as his Majesty was, and the Grandeur of his Court and Army; that I should have reckoned it a great Honour<sup>35</sup> to serve him, did not affairs of the greatest Importance call me home, after seeing the Empire of *China*. He then ask'd me concerning the War betwixt the *Turk* and *European* Princes in *Hungary*,<sup>36</sup> and having answer'd to the best of my Knowledge, he dismiss'd me, the time of the Publick Audience drawing near. I return'd into the second Court, enclos'd with painted Calicoes, ten Spans high all about. Here on the side next the King's apartment, the Tent to give Audience in, was supported by two great Poles, being cover'd on the outsides with ordinary red Stuff, and with finer within, and small Taffeta Curtins. Under this Tent was a square place, rais'd four Spans above the Ground, enclos'd with silver Banisters, two Spans high, and cover'd with fine Carpets. Six Spans further in the middle was another place rais'd a Span higher,<sup>38</sup> at the Angles whereof there were 4 Poles, cover'd with silver reaching to the top of the Tent. Here stood the Throne, which was also square, of gilt Wood, three Spans<sup>39</sup> above the rest; to get up to it there was a little silver Footstool. On it there were three Pillows of Brocade, two to serve on the sides, and one at the back. Soon after the King came leaning on a Staff forked at the top, several *Omrahs* and abundance of Courtiers going before him. He had on a white Vest ty'd under the right Arm, according to the fashion of the *Mahometans*, to distinguish them from the Gentils, who tie it under the left. The *Cira* or Turbant of the same white stuff, was ty'd with a Gold Web,<sup>40</sup> on which an Emerald of a vast bigness, appear'd<sup>41</sup> amidst four little ones. He had a Silk Sash, which cover'd the *Catiri*<sup>42</sup> or Indian Dagger hanging on the left. His Shooes were after the *Moorish* Fashion, and his Legs naked without Hose. Two Servants put away the Flyes, with long, white Horse-tails; another at the same time keeping off the Sun, with a green Umbrello. He was of a low Stature, with a large Nose, Slender, and stooping with Age.<sup>43</sup> The whiteness of his round Bear'd, was more visible<sup>44</sup> on his Olive colour'd Skin. When he was seated they gave him his Scimiter, and Buckler, which he lay'd down on his left side within the Throne. Then he made a sign with his Hand for those that had business to draw near; who being come up, two Secretaries standing, took their Petitions, which

The Mogul  
gives  
Audience.



they deliver'd to the King,<sup>45</sup> telling him the Contents. I admir'd to see him<sup>46</sup> Indorse them with his own Hand, without Spectacles, and by his chearful smiling Countenance seem to be pleas'd with the employment.

In the mean while the Elephants were review'd, that the King might see what condition they were in, and whether the *Omrahs*, they were committed to, manage them well. When the *Cornaccia*<sup>47</sup> (that is he who rides them) had uncover'd the Elephants Crupper, for the King to view it, he made him turn his Head towards the Throne, and striking him on it three times, made him do his Submission as often, by lifting up and lowering down his Trunk. Then came *Scialam's* Son and Grandson,<sup>48</sup> who having twice made their Obeisance to the King, each time putting their Hand to the Ground, on their Head, and on their Breast, sate down on the first floor of the Throne on the left. Then *Azam-Scia*<sup>49</sup> the King's Son coming in, and making the same submissions,<sup>50</sup> he sate down on the second Step, which we said was rais'd above the other.<sup>51</sup> These Princes wore silk Vests with Flowers of several Colours, *Ciras* adorn'd with precious Stones, Gold Collars, Jewells, rich Sashes, Scimiters, and Bucklers hanging by their sides. Those that were not of the Blood Royal, made<sup>52</sup> three Obeisances.

Review  
of the  
Elephants.

On the right Hand without the Tent, stood 100 *Musketiars* and more Mace-bearers, who had Clubs on their Shoulders with silver Globes at the Ends. These were clad in Cloth of several colours. There were also several Porters with Staves in their Hands, that no Person might go in without being introduc'd.

On the left of the Tent were the Royal Ensigns held up on Spears by nine Persons, clad in Vests of crimson Velvet, all adorn'd with Gold, and with wide Sleeves, and sharp Collars hanging down behind. He that stood in the middle held a Sun; the two on his sides two gilt Hands; next them stood two others, each holding two Horses Tails dy'd Red.<sup>53</sup> The other four had the Spears cover'd, so that there was no seeing what they held. Without the enclosure of the Royal Tents, several Companies and Troops of Horse and Foot stood at their Arms; and Elephants with vast Standards, and Kettle-Drums on them, which were beaten all the time. When the Audience was over, the King with-drew in the same Order he came out; so did the Princes; some getting into *Palankines*, and others mounting stately Horses, cover'd with Gold and precious Stones. The *Omrahs*, who had stood all the while, return'd also to their Tents, follow'd by many Elephants, some with Seats on them and some with Colours flying, and attended by two Troops of Horse, and two Companies of Foot. The *Cattual*,<sup>54</sup> who is like a Provost-Marshal against Thieves, rode with a great Trumpet of green Copper, eight Spans long,





carry'd before him by a *Moor* a-foot. That foolish Trumpet made me Laugh ; because it made a Noise much like that our Swineheards make, to call together their Swine at Night.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE ARTIFICES, AND CRUEL PRACTICES OF THE MOGUL, NOW REIGNING, TO POSSESS HIMSELF OF THE EMPIRE.

Experience has long since made it Notorious enough, that the Succession of this great Monarchy rather depends on Force than Right ; and that, (if it so happen, that the Sons expect their Father's Death<sup>1</sup>) they at last Determin the Title of Birth-right by the Event of a Battle ; but this *Mogul* we have spoken of, added Fraud to Force, by which he destroy'd not only his Brothers, but his Father.

*Scia-gehan,*  
Father to  
*Aurenge*  
*Zeb.*

When *Scia-gehan*<sup>2</sup> had Reign'd forty Years, more like a Father than a King,<sup>3</sup> being at the Age of seventy Years,<sup>4</sup> fitter for any thing than Love ; he became desperately Amorous<sup>5</sup> of a *Moorish* young Woman.<sup>6</sup> His unruly Passion prevailing, he gave himself up so entirely to her, beyond what became his Age, that being reduc'd to extream Weakness, and despairing of his Recovery, he shut himself up for three Months in the *Aram*, without shewing himself to the People, according to Custom.<sup>7</sup> He had six Children ; four of them Sons call'd,<sup>8</sup> *Dara*, or *Darius* ; the second *Sugiah*,<sup>9</sup> that is, valiant Prince ; the third *Aurenge Zeb*, that is, Ornament of the Throne, and the last *Morad Baksce*. The two Daughters were<sup>10</sup> *Begum Saheb*,<sup>11</sup> that is, supream Princess ; and<sup>12</sup> *Rausenora Begum*,<sup>13</sup> that is, lightsom Princess, or Light of Princesses. They take these Names, because there being no Titles of Earldoms, Dukedoms, or the like, as is us'd in *Europe* ; they cannot like our Princes take the Name of those Lands, for they all belong to the King, who gives all those that Serve him Assignments at Pleasure, or Pay in ready Mony. For the same Reason the *Omrahs* Names are<sup>14</sup> such as these, those that follow, Thunderer, breaker of Troops, faithful Lord, the Wise, the Perfect,<sup>15</sup> and the like.

He devides  
his Sons.

*Bernier.*  
*Revolution*  
*des estats*  
*du G.*  
*Mogul.*  
*Tom. 1.*  
*p. 20.*

*Scia-gehan* seeing his Sons Marry'd, grown Powerful, aspiring to the Crown, and consequently Enemies to one another, and in such a Condition that it was impossible to shut them up in the inaccessible Fortress of *Govallor*,<sup>16</sup> according to the antient Custom, after much thinking, for fear they should kill one another before his Face, he resolv'd to remove them from Court. He sent *Sultan Sugiah* into the Kingdom



of *Bengala*; *Aurence Zeb* into that of *Decan*; *Morad Baksce* into *Guzaratte*, and to *Dara* he gave *Cabul* and *Multan*. The three first went away well pleas'd, and acted like Sovereigns in their Governments; keeping to themselves all the Revenues, and maintaining Armies under Colour<sup>17</sup> of awing the Subjects, and bordering Princes. *Dara*, being the Eldest, and design'd for<sup>18</sup> Empire remain'd at Court, where the Father feeding him with hopes of the Crown, permitted all Orders to pass through his Hands, and allow'd him a Throne below his own among the *Omrahs*; for having offer'd to resign up the Government to him, *Dara* refus'd it out of Respect.

The Report being spread abroad upon *Sciah-gehan's* shutting himself up, that he was Dead, his Sons immediately arm'd to contend for their Father's Kingdom. The cunning Fox *Aurence Zeb*, whilst Things were in this Confusion, that he might the better surprize his Brother, gave out, that he had no pretensions to the Crown, but had chosen to become a *Fachir*, or Poor, to serve God in Peace. At the same time he writ to his Brother *Morad Baksce* acquainting him that he had always been his real Friend, and had no Pretensions to the Crown himself, being a profess'd *Fachir*; but that *Dara* being unfit to Reign, and a *Kafar*<sup>19</sup> or Idolater; and *Sultan Sujah* a *Refesis*<sup>20</sup> or Heretick, and Enemy of his Fore-fathers<sup>21</sup> Religion, and unworthy of the Crown, he thought none but *Morad* deserv'd it, to whom all the *Omrahs* being acquainted with his Valour would willingly submit. As for himself, provided he would give him his Word, that when he came to the Throne, he would leave him in Peace to pray to God in some corner of the Kingdom<sup>22</sup> the rest of his Days, he would not only endeavour to assist him with his Advice, but would joyn his Forces with him to Destroy his Brother;<sup>23</sup> in Token whereof he sent him 100000 *Roupies*; advising him to come with all Expedition to make himself Master of the Fort of *Suratte*, where the Treasure was. *Morad Baksce*, who was neither Powerful nor<sup>24</sup> Rich, freely accepted his Offer and Money, and began immediately to Act like a King, promising great Rewards to those that would side with him; so that he rais'd a powerful Army in a short time. Then giving the Command of 3000 Men to *Scia-Abas*,<sup>25</sup> a valiant Eunuch, he sent him to Besiege the Castle of *Suratte*.

They Arm  
against  
him.

*Aurence  
Zeb* his  
Artifices.

*Dara* would have Reliev'd it, but forebore it to attend his Father in his Sickness, and curb *Sultan Sugah*, who after subduing the Kingdom of *Bengala*, where he was Governour, was advanc'd with a powerful Army into the Kingdom of *Lahor*.<sup>26</sup> He sent his Eldest Son *Soliman Ssecur*<sup>27</sup> against him with considerable Forces; who routed his Uncle, and drave him back into *Bengala*, and leaving good Garrisons on the Frontiers, he went back to his Father *Dara*,





On the other side, *Aurenge Zeb* sent his Son *Sultan Mahmud*,<sup>28</sup> Son-in-Law to the King of *Golconda*, to *Emir Gemla*,<sup>29</sup> who<sup>30</sup> lay by Order of *Sciah-gehan*, at the Siege of *Kaliana*,<sup>31</sup> to desire<sup>32</sup> him to meet him at *Daulet-Abad*,<sup>33</sup> where he would communicate a Matter of great Moment to him. The *Emir*, who was well acquainted with *Aurenge Zeb*'s Artifices, excus'd himself,<sup>34</sup> saying, his<sup>35</sup> Father was not yet Dead ; and that all his Family was left at *Agra*, in the Hands of *Dara*, as Hostages for his Fidelity ; for which Reason he could not Assist him without the Ruin of what he held most dear. Having receiv'd this Answer, *Aurenge Zeb* was no way discourag'd, but sent *Sultan Mazum*,<sup>36</sup> his second Son to the *Emir* ; who manag'd Things so well, that he perswaded him to go with him to *Dolet Abad*, with the Flower of his Army, he having<sup>37</sup> made himself Master of *Kaliana*. *Aurenge Zeb* receiv'd him with extraordinary Demonstrations of Affection and Honour ; calling him *Baba*, and *Babagi*, that is, Father, and Lord and Father ; and after giving him an hundred Embraces, taking him aside he told him, It was not reasonable that his Family being in *Dara*'s Hands, he should venture to do any thing for him Publickly ; but that on the other Hand there was no Difficulty but might be overcome. I will therefore propose a method to you, said he, which will not appear strange to you, when you think on the Safety of your Wife and Children ; which is, that you permit me to Imprison you,<sup>38</sup> which all the World will think is in Earnest, believing you are no Man that will take it in Jest,<sup>39</sup> and in the mean while I will make use of part of your Troops, of your Cannon, and some of your Mony, which you have so often offer'd me, and will try my Fortune. The *Emir*, either because he was a sworn Friend to *Aurenge Zeb*, or on account of the great Promises he had made him at other times ; or else by reason he saw *Sultan Mazum* well arm'd standing by him, and *Sultan Mahmud* looking upon him with a stern Countenance ; submitted to all his Will, suffering himself to be confin'd to<sup>40</sup> a Room. The News being spread abroad, his Men ran to Arms to Rescue him, and being very numerous would have done it had not *Aurenge Zeb* appeas'd them with fair Words, Promises, and Gifts ; so that not only the *Emir*'s Troops, but most of *Sciah Gehan*'s seeing Things in Confusion, sided with him. Having therefore Possess'd himself of the *Emir*'s Tents, Camels, and Baggage, he march'd to take *Suratte* ; but hearing within a few Days that the Governour had already surrendred it to *Morad Baksce*, he sent to Congratulate with him, and tell him what had hapned with<sup>41</sup> *Emir Jemla* ; what Forces and Mony he had ; and what secret Intelligence at Court ; desiring him, that since he was to go from *Brampur*<sup>42</sup> to *Agra*, he should<sup>43</sup> endeavour to meet, and Confer with him by the way.



This fell out to his Mind,<sup>44</sup> the two Armies joyning with much Satisfaction. *Aurenge Zeb* made *Morad Baksce* fresh Promises, protesting over again that he did not Aspire to the Crown ; but only come to help raise him to the Throne, in Opposition to *Dara*, their common Enemy. They both mov'd towards *Brampur*, where coming to a Battle with the Army of *Sciah-gehan*, and *Dara*, which came to hinder them passing the River *Ogene* ;<sup>45</sup> the Generals, *Kasem* and *Cham*,<sup>46</sup> and *Gesson-senghe*<sup>47</sup> were overthrown by the Valour of *Morad*, with the Slaughter of 8000 *Ragipu's*.<sup>48</sup> *Dara's* Forces defeated.

*Morad Baksce* flush'd with the Success of the Battle, Himself coveted nothing but Fighting ; using all possible means to overtake the Enemy ; whilst *Aurenge Zeb* grown vain, encourag'd his Soldiers, giving out he had 30000 *Moguls* of his Party among *Dara's* Forces. Having taken some Rest, they Fought the second Battle at *Samongher*,<sup>49</sup> where *Morad Baksce*, tho wounded by the General *Ram senghe-ruttle*,<sup>50</sup> fighting Courageously kill'd him.<sup>51</sup> Whilst the Event<sup>52</sup> of the Battle was still Dubious, the Traitor *Calil-ullah-kan*,<sup>53</sup> who Commanded 30000 *Moguls*, with whom he might have routed the Enemy, did not only go over to *Aurenge Zeb*, but falsly<sup>54</sup> perswaded *Dara* to come down from his Elephant, and get a Horse-back, and this to the end that the Soldiers not seeing him, might suppose he was kill'd, and so dismay 'em.<sup>55</sup> It fell out as he design'd, for being all seiz'd with Fear,<sup>56</sup> they fled to escape *Aurenge Zeb*. Thus *Dara* on a sudden lost the Victory he had almost gain'd, and was overthrown ; and seeing himself forsaken, was forc'd to fly to save his Life. So that it may be said, that *Aurenge Zeb* by continuing stedfast on his Elephant, secur'd to himself the Crown of *Indostan* ; and *Dara* was thrown out of the Throne by coming down from his.<sup>57</sup> A Diversion Fortune often takes, to make the greatest Victories<sup>58</sup> depend on the most contemptible Accidents. The unhappy *Dara* returning to *Agra* in Despair, durst not appear before his Father, who, when he took his Leave, had said to him, *Be sure Dara never to come into my Sight unless Victorious*. Nevertheless the good old Man did not omit to send to Comfort<sup>59</sup> him, and assure him of his Affection.

Four Days after, *Aurenge Zeb*, and *Morad Baksce* came to a Garden<sup>60</sup> a small League from the Fort of *Agra* ; and thence sent an ingenious and trusty Eunuch to pay their Respects to *Sciah-gehan* ; and to tell him they were very much troubled at all that had hapned, being compell'd to it by *Dara's* Ambition ; but<sup>61</sup> were most ready to Obey his Commands. *Sciah-gehan*, tho' he well knew how eager his Son was to Reign, and that there was no trusting to his fair Words ; yet shew'd a good Countenance to the Eunuch, designing to intrap *Aurenge Zeb*, without coming to open Force, as was then proper to have *Aurenge Zeb* comes to *Agra*.





Imprisons  
his Father.

done. But he, who was thorough skill'd in all Frauds, took his Father in the same Snare ; for putting off the Visit from Day to Day, which had been agreed upon between them by the Eunuch, spent the mean time in gaining the Affections of the *Omrahs* underhand. When he thought Things were Ripe, he sent his Eldest Son *Sultan Mahmud* to the Fort, on Pretence to speak to *Sciah-gehan* from him.<sup>62</sup> This bold young Prince coming to the Gate, fell with his Men that lay in readiness upon the Guards, and putting them to Flight, went resolutely in, and made himself Master of the Walls. *Sciah-gehan* perceiving he was fallen into the Snare he had laid for his Son, try'd to Bribe *Sultan Mahmud* with the offer of the Crown, but he, without being mov'd, carry'd the Keys of the Fort to his Father, who made the same Governour<sup>63</sup> *Ekkar-kan*,<sup>64</sup> Governour of it. He presently shut up the old King with his Daughter *Begum Saheb*, and all the Women ; so that he could neither Speak nor Write to any Body, much less go out of his Apartment.<sup>65</sup> As soon as this was done, all the *Omrahs* were oblig'd to make their Court to *Aurenge Zeb*, and *Morad Baksce*, and to declare for the first of them. He being now well Establish'd, took what he thought fit out of the King's Treasure ; and leaving his Uncle *Scia-hest-kan*<sup>66</sup> Governour of the City, went away with *Morad Baksce* in Pursuit of *Dara*.

Seises  
*Morad*  
*Baksce*.

The Day they were to set out of *Agra*, *Morad Baksce*'s Friends, and particularly his Eunuch *Scia-Abas*, told him, That since he was King, and *Aurenge Zeb* himself gave him the Title of Majesty ; he should send him against *Dara*, and stay himself with his Troops about *Agra* and *Dehli*.<sup>67</sup> But he had so much Confidence in his Brother's Promises, and in the mutual Oath of Fidelity they had taken to one another upon the *Al-coran* ; that despising all good Counsel, he set out towards *Dehli*, with *Aurenge Zeb*. At *Maturas*,<sup>68</sup> four Days March from *Agra*, his Friends again endeavour'd to Convince him, that his Brother had ill Designs<sup>69</sup> in his Head ; and advis'd him to forbear Visiting him, tho' it were but that Day<sup>70</sup> upon pretence of Indisposition ; but he continuing Incredulous, and in a manner infatuated with his sweet Words,<sup>71</sup> did not only go, but staid to Sup with him. The false Wretch shew'd him all manner of Kindness, even to the wiping off his Sweat with his Handkerchief, always talking to him as King, and giving him the Title of Majesty ; but as soon as he saw him overcome by the Fumes of *Sciras*,<sup>72</sup> and *Cabul* Wine, he arose from Table, and encouraging his Brother to carry on the Debauch with *Mircan*,<sup>73</sup> and other Officers there present, went away, as if he had gone to take his Rest. *Morad Baksce*, who lov'd Drinking, making himself Drunker than he was, at length fell asleep ; which was what *Aurenge Zeb* expected,<sup>74</sup> in order to take away his scimiter, and *Gemder*,<sup>75</sup> or Dagger. Then returning into the Room, he



began to upbraid him in these Words, *What a Shame, what a Disgrace is this! for a King as you are to be so Debauch'd, as to make himself thus Drunk? What will the World say of you, and of me? Let this base Man, this Drunkard be bound Hands, and Feet, and shut up to Digest his Wine.* This was immediately Executed, and *Morad Baksce's* Commanders being offended at his Imprisonment, *Aurenge Zeb* pacify'd<sup>76</sup> them with Gifts and Promises, and took them all into his Pay. His unfortunate Brother was shut up in an *Ambri*,<sup>77</sup> which is a little wooden House they set on an Elephant to carry Women, and so convey'd to *Dehli*, to the little Fort of *Salemgher*,<sup>78</sup> seated in the middle of the River.

Having secur'd *Morad Baksce*, he pursu'd *Dara*; leaving *Sultan Mahmud*, and *Emir Gemla* to Destroy *Sultan Sujah*. But *Mahmud* aspiring to those Things he ought not yet to have aim'd at, and being naturally Proud, fell at Variance<sup>79</sup> with *Emir Gemla*, about commanding in Chief, which he pretended to belong to him alone; and now and then let slip some Words of Contempt and Threatning against him, and such as did not become a dutiful Son. Then fearing that his Father on account of his ill Behaviour had given Orders to the *Emir* to secure him; he with-drew with a few Followers to *Sultan Sujah*,<sup>80</sup> making him great Promises, and swearing to be Faithful; but he fearing some Contrivance of *Aurenge Zeb*, and the *Emir*, caus'd all his Actions to be observ'd;<sup>81</sup> so that *Mahmud* in a few Months return'd to the *Emir's* Camp. Others say it was a Project of *Aurenge Zeb's*, to send him to his Uncle, to Ruin them both, or at least a specious Pretence to make sure of him; because afterwards, besides the threatening Letters he writ to recal him to *Dehli*, he caus'd him to be Arrested upon the River *Ganges*, and sent close shut up in an *Ambri*, to *Gavaleor*.

Imprisons  
his Eldest  
Son.

*Aurenge Zeb* having perform'd this Work, sent to warn his other Son *Sultan Mazum* to continue in his Duty, unless he would be serv'd<sup>82</sup> in the same manner; because it was a nice Point to Reign, and Kings ought to be jealous<sup>83</sup> of their own Shadows. Then going to *Dehli*, he began to Act as King; and whilst the *Emir* press'd *Sugiah*, who made a brave Opposition, securing the Passage of the River *Ganges*, he contriv'd to get *Dara* into his Power by Fraud, forcing him to quit *Guzaratte*. He made the *Raja Gessen Sanghe* write a Letter to tell him, he would speak with him about a Matter of great Moment on the way to *Agra*. *Dara*, who had gather'd an indifferent Army, unadvisedly came out of *Amed-Abad*, and hasted to *Asmire*,<sup>84</sup> eight Days Journey from *Agra*. Here too late discovering *Gessen Senghes Treachery*,<sup>85</sup> and seeing no Possibility of returning so soon to *Amed Abad*, which was thirty four Days<sup>86</sup> Journey distant, in Summer, with scarcity of Water, and through the Hands<sup>87</sup> of several *Raja's* Friends to *Jessem*; he at last

*Dara*  
defeated  
again.



resolv'd, tho' he knew himself to be inferior in Forces to Fight him.<sup>88</sup> In this Battle Dara was betray'd, not only by *Scia-Navazekan*,<sup>89</sup> but by all his Officers, who fir'd his Cannon without Ball,<sup>90</sup> so that he was forced to fly to save his Life, and to cross all the Countries of *Raja's* there are from *Asmire* to *Amed Abad*; without Tents, or Baggage, in the hottest Season, and with only 2000 Soldiers, who were most of them stripp'd by the *Kullys*,<sup>91</sup> Peasants of the Country, who are the greatest Thieves in *India*. Being come with so much Difficulty within a Day's Journey of *Amed Abad*, the Governour, who was corrupted by *Aurenge Zeb*, sent him Word to come no nearer, for he would find the Gates shut. *Dara* much concern'd at this News, and not knowing what to Resolve on, he bethought him of a Powerful *Patan*, call'd *Gion-Kan*,<sup>92</sup> whose Life he had twice sav'd, when *Scia-gehan* had commanded him to be cast to the Elephants for Rebellion. Him he purpos'd to repair to, notwithstanding his Son *Sapesce-Kuh*,<sup>93</sup> and his Wife's Disswasions. Coming thither he was at first Courteously receiv'd; but the next Morning the false and ungrateful *Patan* fell upon him with many arm'd Men, and killing some Soldiers that came to his Assistance, Bound him, his Wife and Son, seizing all their Jewels, and Mony. Then setting him on an Elephant, with an Executioner behind, who was to Kill him if he attempted to Escape, he conducted him to the Camp at *Tatabakar*,<sup>94</sup> where he deliver'd him up to the General *Mirbaba*,<sup>95</sup> who caus'd him to be carry'd in the same manner to *Agra*, and thence to *Dehli*. When he was come to the Gate of that City, *Aurenge Zeb*, and his Council differ'd in Opinions, whether they should carry him through the City, or not, in order to send him to *Govaleor*, and at last it was resolv'd to set him scurvily Clad, with his Wife and Son, on a pitiful Elephant, and so carry him through the City, with the infamous *Patan* by him. In the mean while *Aurenge Zeb* was inform'd, that all the City was Incens'd against him, on account of his many Cruelties; and mis-doubting the first,<sup>96</sup> he summon'd his Council, to Determine whether it was better to send him to Prison, or put him to Death. Many were of the first Opinion; but *Dara's* old Enemies, especially *Nakim Daud*,<sup>97</sup> a Physitian, flattering the Tyrant's Inclination, cry'd out aloud, it was convenient for the safety of the Kingdom, that he should Die, and the more because he was no *Musulman*, but a *Kafer*, or Idolater.<sup>98</sup> *Aurenge Zeb* readily comply'd, immediately ordering that *Sapesce-Kuh* should be carry'd Prisoner to *Govaleor*, and *Dara* put to Death by the Hands of a Slave, call'd *Nazar*.<sup>99</sup> He going in to Execute the barbarous Command, *Dara*, who was himself dressing some Lentils for fear of Poison, foreseeing what was coming upon him, cry'd out to his Son, see he comes to Kill me.<sup>100</sup> Then taking a Kitchen Knife, he would have defended himself; but the

Betray'd.



Executioner fell on, and throwing him down, cut off his Head,<sup>101</sup> which was carry'd to the Fort to *Aurenge Zeb*, and he ordering it to be put into a Dish, wash'd<sup>102</sup> it with his own Hands, to be sure it was his Brother's, and when he found it was, began to Lament, saying, *Oh unhappy Man ; take it out of my Sight, and let it be Bury'd in the Tomb of Humagon.*<sup>103</sup> At Night he caus'd his<sup>104</sup> Daughters to be put into the *Seraglio*, and afterwards sent her to *Scia-gehan*, and *Begum Saheb*, who desir'd it ; and *Sapesce-Kuh* was carry'd to *Govaleor*. *Gion-Kan* was rewarded for his Treachery,<sup>105</sup> but was kill'd in a Wood as he return'd home, to prove that Men love the Treason, but hate

His Sons  
secur'd.

There was none left of *Dara's* Family, but *Soliman Scokuh*, who was not easily to be drawn from *Serenagher*,<sup>106</sup> had the *Raja* kept his Word ; but the underhand Practices of the *Raja Gessen Senghe*,<sup>106a</sup> the Promises and Threats of *Aurenge Zeb*, the Death of *Dara*, and the neighbouring *Raja's* made him break his Faith. *Soliman* understanding he was betray'd, fled over desert Mountains, towards the Great *Tibet*, but the *Raja's* Son<sup>107</sup> overtook, and stopp'd him, wounding him with a Stone ; after which he was convey'd to *Dehli*, where he was shut up in *Salengher*, with *Morad Baksce*, not without Tears of all the *Omrachs*.

*Aurenge Zeb* perceiving there were Poems handed about in Commendation of *Morad Baksce's* Valour, it rais'd such a Jealousy in him, that he presently contriv'd his Death. *Morad*, at the beginning of the War had kill'd one *Sajed*,<sup>108</sup> a very wealthy Man at *Amed Abad*, only to Sieze upon what he had.<sup>109</sup> The Tyrant made his Sons appear in a full Assembly, and demand that Prince's Head, in Revenge for their Father's Death. Not one of the *Omrachs* oppos'd it, as well because *Sajed* was of *Mahomet's* Family, as to comply with the will of *Aurenge Zeb*, whose invention<sup>110</sup> they knew that was. Accordingly they were permitted without any manner of Process to have *Morad's* Head cut off ; which was immediately perform'd at *Govaleor*.

*Morad*  
*Baksce*  
kill'd.

There is now none left to oppose *Aurenge Zeb*, but only *Sultan Sujah*, who tho' he held out some time in *Bengala*, yet was at last forc'd to submit to his Brother's Power and good Fortune ; for the *Emir Gemla* pursuing him with his Forces<sup>111</sup> into the Islands the *Ganges* makes near its Mouth, forc'd him to fly to *Dake*<sup>112</sup> the last City of *Bengala* on the Sea side. Here, having no Ships to commit himself to the Ocean, and not knowing which way to escape ; he sent his eldest Son *Sultan Banche*<sup>113</sup> to the King of *Aracam* or *Mog*,<sup>114</sup> a heathen Prince, to pray him to give him Protection for the present in his Country, and in the proper Season a Vessel to carry him to *Moka*,<sup>115</sup> he having a mind to go to *Mecca*. The King of *Aracam* presently sent a number of Galeasses<sup>116</sup> or half Galleys with *Sultan Banche*,

The end  
of Sultan  
*Sujah*.





and a civil Answer as to the rest. *Sujah* went aboard with his Women, and being brought to that King was well receiv'd ; but when the Season came he perform'd not his Word<sup>117</sup> of furnishing him a Ship to go to *Mecca* ; but appearing every Day more cold to him, began to complain that *Sujah* did not visit him, and tho' *Sultan Banche* often made his Court with great Presents, yet it avail'd nothing. Then asking one of *Sultan Sujah's* Daughters in Marriage, and finding she was not immediately granted him, the Barbarian was so inrag'd, that he oblig'd the poor fugitive Prince to act a desperate Part. He thought with 300 Souldiers he brought from *Bengala*, and the assistance of the *Mahometans* of the Country whom he had corrupted to break into the Palace, kill all he found, and make himself King of *Arracam* ; but the Day before he was to put this in Execution, the Design was discover'd, and he oblig'd to fly towards *Pegu* to save his Life, tho' it was impossible to come thither by reason of the vast Mountains and Forrests he was to pass through. That same Day he was overtaken by the King's Men, and tho' he defended himself with much Bravery, killing a great number, yet so many fell upon him, that at last he was forc'd to submit to his Fate. *Sultan Banche* who was not gone so far, made his defence too, but being hurt<sup>118</sup> with Stones, and encompass'd on all sides, was taken, with two little Brothers, a Sister and his Mother. As for *Sultan Sujah* himself there are different Accounts ;<sup>119</sup> some say he was wounded on the Mountains, only four of his Men being left about him, and that an Eunuch having dress'd the Wound on his Head, he fled across the Woods ; others will have it that he was found among the Dead, but not perfectly known ;<sup>120</sup> others that he was afterwards seen at *Maslipatan* ; others near *Suratte* ; and others in fine that he was fled towards *Persia* ;<sup>121</sup> so that by reason of these different Accounts, *Aurenge Zeb* one Day in jest said that *Sujah* was turn'd Pilgrim. The most receiv'd Opinion is that he dy'd in the Fray, if he was not kill'd by Robbers, or wild Beasts, of which those Forrests are full. After this Disaster all his Family was Imprison'd, and the King took his eldest Daughter to Wife ; but another Conspiracy of *Sultan Banche*<sup>122</sup> being afterwards discover'd, he was so inrag'd that he caus'd them all to be put to Death, even to her that was his Wife and with Child. The Men were put to the Sword, and the Women starv'd to Death.

Exact Justice of a Mahometan.

The unnatural War being thus at an end after it had lasted through the ambition of Rule,<sup>123</sup> among the four Brothers from the Year 1655 till 1660.<sup>124</sup> *Aurenge Zeb* remain'd peaceable Possessor of that vast Empire ; for after so much Blood shed and so many Enormities committed, it was easie to cause himself to be declar'd King with the consent of all the great Ones. The greatest Obstacle he found was the Grand *Cadi*<sup>125</sup> who was



to put him in Possession, and pleaded that according to the Law of *Mahomet* and that of Nature, no Man could be declar'd King, whilst his Father was yet living ; much less *Aurenge Zeb*, who had put to death his elder Brother *Dara*, to whom the Crown belong'd after the Death of his Father *Scia-gehan*. To overcome this difficulty he assembled the Doctors of the Law, and told them, that as for his Father he was unfit to Rule by reason of his Age ; and for his Brother *Dara's* Death he had caus'd him to be executed for condemning the Law, by drinking Wine, and favouring Infidels. Adding Threats to these Reasons he made the *Mahometan* Casuists agree, that he deserv'd the Crown and ought to be declar'd King. The *Cadi* still opposing him, he was depos'd<sup>126</sup> and another put in his Place, who for the kindness<sup>127</sup> receiv'd consented to all that was requir'd of him. *Aurenge Zeb* accordingly coming to the *Mosch* on the 20th of October 1660<sup>128</sup> seated himself on the richest Throne<sup>129</sup> that ever was seen in the World,<sup>130</sup> being the same that was begun by *Tamerlan* and finish'd by *Scia-gehan*, receiving there the Homage of all the great Men, as is the custom of the Country. Afterwards there was great rejoycing at *Jehanabat*<sup>131</sup> and throughout all the Kingdom.

*Aurenge Zeb*  
Enthron'd.

*Aurenge-Zeb* considering the heinousness of the Crimes he had committed for the compassing of his Ends ; voluntarily impos'd on himself a rigorous Abstinence, not to eat for the future any Wheaten-Bread, Fish, or Flesh ; and to live upon Barley-Bread, Rice, Herbs, Sweetmeats and such things ; nor to drink any sort of Liquor but Water.<sup>132</sup>

His  
Penance.

Ambassadors from the prime<sup>133</sup> Princes of *Asia* and *Africk* came to his Court to Congratulate his Accession to the Crown ;<sup>134</sup> but he was much offended at the Letter sent him by the King of *Persia*,<sup>135</sup> upbraiding him with the Murder of *Dara*, and Imprisonment of *Sciah-Gehan*, as being Actions unworthy a *Musulman*, and the Son and Brother of a *Musulman* ; and reflecting on<sup>136</sup> him for the Title he had assum'd of *Alem-Guire*,<sup>137</sup> that is, Lord of the World, concluded<sup>138</sup> challenging him in these Words, Since you are *Alem-Guire*, I send you a Sword and Horses that we may meet.

Is reprov'd  
by the King  
of *Persia*.

*Sciah-Gehan* dy'd in the Fort of *Agra* about the end of the Year 1666.<sup>139</sup> and *Aurenge-Zeb*, who had long wish'd to be deliver'd from that continual Reproach of his Tyranny, went thither immediately to secure all his Father's Jewels. He receiv'd his Sister *Begum-Saheb* into favour, because she having an influence over her Father, being his<sup>140</sup> Wife and Daughter,<sup>141</sup> had preserv'd to him so many Jewels of incredible value, when *Sciah-Gehan* offended that he had sent for them whilst he was living, to adorn the Throne he had usurp'd, was about to reduce them to Powder in a Mortar. Besides she had given him much Gold, and set out<sup>142</sup> the *Mosch* he went into before his entring

*Sciah Gehan*  
dies *Tavern.*  
l. 2. p. 252.



the Fort, with rich Carpets. She was afterwards carry'd in honourable manner to *Jehanabat*, and there dy'd,<sup>143</sup> with suspicion of being Poison'd.<sup>144</sup>

Divine  
Justice.

If we now look back into the Life of *Sciah-Gehan*,<sup>145</sup> we shall find that he was punish'd by the Hand of God as he had deserv'd, for the wrong he had done his Nephew *Bulaki*,<sup>146</sup> usurping the Crown from him.

*Sciah Gehan*  
an Usurper.

*Gehanghir* King of India Son of *Acbar*, and Grandson of *Humagion*, after having reign'd twenty three Years Peaceably was disturb'd by the Ambition of his Sons, who thought that Life lasted too long, which obstructed their getting into Power. The Eldest<sup>147</sup> rais'd a mighty Army about *Lahor* to possess his Father's Throne before it was his Due ; the King to punish his Presumption march'd against him with numerous Forces, and defeating his Troops, brought him away Prisoner with those great Men that had espous'd his Cause. But being of a merciful Disposition and unwilling to imbrue his Hands in the Blood of his Son, whom he could not but love, he was satisfy'd with holding a Red hot Iron to his Eyes, and keeping him in that Condition about him ; designing<sup>148</sup> to raise his<sup>149</sup> Son *Sultan Bulaki* to the Throne. But *Sultan Curom*,<sup>150</sup> who afterwards took the Name of *Sciah Gehan*, believing that he as second Son to *Gehan Ghir*, ought to be prefer'd in right before his Nephew ; resolv'd to leave no means unattempted to cast him down<sup>151</sup> and raise himself, without expecting<sup>152</sup> his Father's Death. He conceal'd his wicked Design under the Cloak of a counterfeit Obedience, till he gain'd his Father's good Will ; and when he thought himself well grounded in his Favour, desir'd he would give him leave to carry his blind Brother into the Kingdom of *Decan*, where he was Governour ; saying, he should by this means take out of his sight a displeasing Object, and his Brother would live<sup>153</sup> more Peaceably. The King not diving into *Curom*'s Design, consented to it ; but he having got the poor Prince into his Hands, contriv'd to make him away<sup>154</sup> in such manner, that no Man could imagine he had been so cruel as to Poison him.<sup>155</sup> This done he chang'd his Name into that of *Sciah-Gehan*, that is, King of the World, and raising a numerous Army, set forward to make War on his Father, who was justly provok'd, and the more for his Son's Death. *Jehanguir* went out in Person with a great Strength,<sup>156</sup> against the Wicked and Ambitious *Curom* ; but Age<sup>157</sup> and Grief to see himself so much wrong'd ended his Days by the way, and made it easie for the other to compass his Designs. However *Jehanguir* before his Death recommended his Grandson *Sultan Bulaki* to *Asuf-Kan*,<sup>158</sup> Generalissimo of his Army, and prime Minister of State, and to all the great Officers, commanding them when he was dead, to acknowledge none for their true and lawful Sovereign but *Bulaki* ; and<sup>159</sup> declaring



*Sultan Curom* a Rebel, and incapable of Succeeding in the Throne.<sup>160</sup> Besides he made them swear and particularly *Asuf-Kan*, that they would never consent that *Bulaki* should be put to Death; which he afterwards faithfully perform'd, but not to settle him on the Throne,<sup>161</sup> having design'd that for *Scia Gehan* his Son in Law. The Death of *Jehan Guir*<sup>162</sup> being known all the great Men acknowledg'd the young *Sultan Bulaki* for their King. Two of his Cousins, soon perceiving the wicked design of *Asuf-Kan*, were the cause of their own Death, and his loosing the Crown, by discovering the Secret to him; because he being unskill'd in the Mystery<sup>163</sup> of Reigning, ask'd the question of *Asuf-Kan* himself, who having sworn he would ever be faithful to his King, privately contriv'd the Death of the two Princes. Then considering that the King having notice of the Conspiracy, it was dangerous to defer the Execution of it, and finding himself Powerful in the number of his Followers, he gave out that *Scia Gehan* was Dead,<sup>164</sup> and his Body would be carry'd to be Bury'd at *Agra*, with the Bones of *Jehan Guir*, as he had desir'd before his Death. He himself brought the News to *Bulaki*, persuading him when it was to be done to go<sup>165</sup> two Leagues out of *Agra* to meet the Body, that Honour being due to a Prince of the Blood tho' an Enemy. *Scia Gehan* came himself in disguise, and when he was in sight of the Army near *Agra* was lay'd on a Bier and carry'd as if he were Dead. All the principal Conspirators came with *Asuf* into the Tent, where he was lay'd, as<sup>166</sup> it were to do Honour to the dead Prince, and when they saw the young King was come out of *Agra*, uncovering the Bier, they made *Scia Gehan* stand up in the presence of all the Army, and declaring him King with a loud Voice, they and all the rest by their example swore Fealty to him. *Bulaki* receiving this dismal News by the way, being in a consternation had no hopes of safety but in flying; which was easie to be done,<sup>167</sup> because his Enemies thought not proper to pursue him. He wandred about *India* a long time, becoming a *Fachir*;<sup>168</sup> but at last tir'd with that painful Employment he retir'd into *Persia*,<sup>169</sup> where he was nobly receiv'd and entertain'd by *Scia Sofi*.<sup>170</sup> *Scia Gehan* being left without any Rival, yet fearing the Factions there might be for the lawful King, by degrees put to death all those that were well affected to his Nephew; making the first Years of his Reign famous<sup>171</sup> for Cruelty. Thus his being in his Life time depriv'd of his Kingdom by his Son, is to be look'd upon as a just Judgment of God, which the longer it is defer'd the heavier it falls.

These are the Methods of securing the Throne of *Indostan*, not found out by any ill Custom of that People, but proceeding from the want of good Laws, concerning the Title of Birth-right. Therefore every Prince of the Blood thinks he has a



sufficient Claim to the Crown, and exposing himself to the cruel necessity of Overcoming to Reign,<sup>172</sup> sometimes involves an infinite number of Lives in his own Ruin, that another may be the more securely establish'd.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE GENEALOGY OF THE GREAT MOGULS, AND OTHER THINGS THE AUTHOR OBSERV'D AT THAT COURT.

The Empire  
of the  
Mogul.

The vast Empire of the *Mogul*, which in the *Indian* Language signifies white,<sup>1</sup> contains all the Country between the Rivers *Indus* and *Ganges*. It borders on the East with the Kingdoms of *Aracan*, *Tipa*, and *Assen*;<sup>2</sup> on the West with *Persia*, and the *Usbeck Tartars*; on the South of it is the great *Indian Ocean*, and some Countries<sup>3</sup> held by the *Portugueses* and other petty Kings; and on the North it reaches to Mount *Caucasus*,<sup>4</sup> and the Country of *Zagotay*;<sup>5</sup> on the North East of it is the Kingdom of *Butan*,<sup>6</sup> whence the Musk is brought. So that the Length of it from *Bengala* to *Candahor*<sup>7</sup> is no less than six Months Journey, and its Breadth from North to South at least four.

Tamerlan  
Founder  
of the  
Monarchy.

The first that lay'd<sup>8</sup> the Foundation of this mighty Monarchy was *Tamerlan*, otherwise call'd *Teymur*; who by his wonderful<sup>9</sup> Conquests from *India* to *Poland*,<sup>9a</sup> far surpass'd the Renown of all former Commanders. He had one Leg shorter than the other, and was therefore call'd the *Lame*; and here we may take notice of his sharp<sup>10</sup> Saying to this effect, to *Bajazeth*<sup>11</sup> Emperor of the *Turks*, whom he overthrew and took Prisoner. Causing him to be brought into his presence the same Day, and looking him steadily in the Face he fell a Laughing; Whereat *Bajazeth* offended said, *Do not Laugh at my ill Fortune Tamerlan; know that it is God who bestows Kingdoms and Empires, and that all that has befallen me to Day may happen to you to Morrow. Tamerlan without the least Concern answer'd, I know very well Bajazeth, that it is God who bestows Kingdoms and Empires. I do not Laugh at your Misfortune, but because considering your Countenance, I perceived that these Kingdoms and Empires are very inconsiderable things with God; since he bestows them on such ugly Fellows as we are, you a squinting Clown, and I a lame Wretch. Tamerlan was not of mean Extraction, as some imagine, but of the Race of Scia guis Cham*,<sup>12</sup> King of *Tartary*. He was born at *Samarcand* a Country of *Zagatay*, or of the *Usbeck-Tartars*, where he was afterwards Bury'd.

Bern. Revol.  
des estats  
du G.  
Mogul  
Tom. 2.  
p. 78.  
Teixeira de  
Imp. Mogul.  
sive India  
vera p. 162.  
Tamarlan's  
Successors.

*Mirumxa*<sup>13</sup> his Son succeeded him in the Throne; his successor was his son *Mahomet*; <sup>14</sup> and *Mahomet*<sup>15</sup> *Mirza Sultan Absuid*<sup>16</sup> his Son, who was kill'd by the *Persians* in the Year 1469. *Mirza Sultan Hamet*<sup>17</sup> Son to him ascended the Throne next, and dy'd in 1495. The next<sup>18</sup> was *Hamet's* Son, call'd *Sultan Babir*,<sup>19</sup> which signifies brave Prince, who in 1500 was Dethron'd by *Kay-bek-Cham*<sup>20</sup> an *Usbeck*, but recover'd the Kingdom again after wandering a long time about *India*, and was the first *Mogul* that became so very Powerful. He dy'd in 1532.

*Thevenot  
Voy. des.  
Indies.  
L. I. c. 3*

His Son *Homagion*, that is, the Fortunate, succeeded him, who Conquer'd the best and wealthiest Kingdoms in *India*. *Kirkan*<sup>21</sup> his General Rebell'd and forc'd him to fly to the King of *Persia*; by whom being assisted with 12000 Men under the Command of *Beuran-Cham*,<sup>22</sup> he defeated the Rebel, and recover'd his Kingdom; then dy'd in 1552.<sup>23</sup>

After his Death his Son *Gelaladin*<sup>24</sup> commonly call'd *Akbar* ascended the Throne. He Reign'd 54 Years, and dy'd in 1605. since the Birth of Christ, and 1014, of the *Mahometan Epocha*, leaving the Kingdom to his Son *Sultan Selim*, call'd by another Name *Jehan-Guir-patsia*,<sup>25</sup> that is, Conquering Emperor of the World; at his Death he left four Sons, *Sultan Kosru*, *Sultan Kurom*, *Sultan Peruiz*, and *Scia Daniel*.<sup>26</sup>

*Sultan Kurom* succeeded his Father *Jehan Guir*, by means of the ill Practices above mention'd and was acknowledg'd for their Sovereign by the great Men of the Kingdom in the Fort of *Agra*, by the Name of *Sultan Sciabedin Muhammed*; <sup>27</sup> but he would be call'd *Scia-Gehan*. Next to him came *Aurenge-Zeb* ascending the Throne of *Indostan*, through such cruel Practices. He took the Name of *Aurenge-Zeb-Alem-Ghire*, That is, Lord of the World, believing he possess'd three parts of it. For this reason he carry'd as his peculiar Ensign a Golden-Globe, and had it in his Seal; and always tore off one corner of the Paper he wrote on, to express that the fourth part of the World was not his. He added to his Empire the Kingdoms of *Visapor*, and *Golconda*, the Kings whereof he kept Prisoners in my time, part of the Territory of *Savagi*, and of other petty Principalities in *Indostan*.

*Aurenge  
Zeb's  
Conquests.*

*Aurenge Zeb* labour'd to gain the Reputation of being a strict Observer of the *Mahometan* Law, and a lover of Justice. He had so distributed his time that he could scarce ever be said to be Idle.<sup>28</sup> Some Days in the Week he bath'd before break of Day; then having pray'd he eat something.<sup>29</sup> After that having spent two hours with his Secretaries, he gave publick Audience before Noon, and then pray'd again. This done he Din'd, and soon after gave Audience again, when follow'd the third and fourth time of praying. Next he was employ'd in the Affairs of his Family till two Hours after it was Dark.

*His employ-  
ments.*



Then he Supp'd and slept only two Hours, after which he took the *Alcoran* and read till break of Day. This was told me by several Eunuchs belonging to the Court, who knowing their Prince was skill'd in Negromancy,<sup>30</sup> believ'd he was assisted by the Devil in that Painful Course of Life ; else he could not have gone through so much fatigue in his decrepit old Age. This might serve as an Example to some Princes of *Europe*, who are so reserv'd,<sup>31</sup> that they give Audience but twice a Week, and then will not stay a Moment to hear their Subject's Grievances ;<sup>32</sup> as if it were not their duty to listen to them with Patience. And it is certain the *Mogul* did not feed on such Dainties as they do, but on Herbs and Pulse ; fasting every Day at those Years, tho' made of Flesh and Blood like the *Europeans*.

His change  
of Life.

After Aurenge Zeb had prescrib'd himself this sort of Life, he ceas'd to be Bloody as before, and on the contrary became so mild, that the Governors and *Omrachs* did not pay him the Duty they ought ; knowing his Mercy would never suffer him to punish them. Thus the Poor were oppress'd by the great Ones without knowing who to have recourse to ; because the King when advis'd to be less merciful towards those that transgress'd his Commands, Answer'd, That he was no God, that his Ministers might not Contradict him,<sup>33</sup> and that if they misbehav'd themselves, Heaven would punish them. A Government far different from that of *Turky*, and *Persia*, where the stain of Disobedience is wash'd away with Blood. Those that saw but into<sup>34</sup> the outside, said, *Aurenge Zeb* was a great *Mahometan* Saint,<sup>35</sup> who after his Death must be put into the Martyrology of their false Sect. But I am of opinion he conniv'd at the failings of his Ministers, and *Omrachs*, that they might love the present Government, under which they were suffer'd to Act as they pleas'd, and consequently there might be no way for any of his Sons, to usurp the Throne.

His  
continency.

On the other side, to speak the Truth, he did not give himself up in his Youth to sensual Pleasures, as his Predecessors had done ; tho' according to their barbarous Custom, he kept several hundred Women<sup>36</sup> in the *Aram*, for ostentation. To this purpose they tell us,<sup>37</sup> that he having pitch'd upon<sup>38</sup> a Woman in the *Aram* to lye with him that Night, she dress'd herself the best she could to receive that Honour. The King coming at the appointed hour into her Chamber, instead of going to bed, fell a reading the *Alcoran* all Night. The Eunuch coming in the Morning to tell him the Bath was ready, as is us'd by<sup>39</sup> the *Mahometans* after they have had to do with Women ; the Woman who had been disappointed cry'd out, there was no need of a Bath, because the King had not broke Wind ; to signify, he had been at Prayers, which if interrupted by Wind, the *Mahometans* are to Bath.<sup>40</sup> The King hearing

her went away asham'd, the Lady telling him that was no Room to pray in ; and he never after look'd her in the Face.<sup>41</sup> The Kings of *Indostan* are at a vast Charge in maintaining so many Women ; for they have many Thousands and thousands<sup>42</sup> of *Roupies* a Year out of the Treasury ; some of the best belov'd even to a Million and a half, which they spend in maintaining abundance of Elephants, Horses and Servants.

Besides *Aurenge Zeb's* abstinence, after so many horrid crimes committed, his Table was not maintain'd out of the Revenue of the Crown ; he said that Food was not good,<sup>43</sup> which cost the sweat of the Subjects, but that every Man ought to work for his living. For this Reason he work'd Caps, and presented them to the Governors of his Kingdoms and Provinces ; who in return for the Honour done them, sent him a Present of several Thousands of *Roupies*. When I was there, his decrepit Age rendring him unable to work, he had reserv'd the Revenues of four Towns for his Table. His expence was but small, for a Vest of his did not cost above 8 *Roupies*, and the Sash and *Cira* or Cap, less.

He work'd  
for his  
Bread.

The Great *Mogul's* usual place of Residence is at *Agra*, and sometimes at *Dehli*, and *Lahor*, in which Cities the King is always guarded by an *Omrah*, with a Body of 20000 Horse, who incamp about those Cities, and this Guard is reliev'd every eight days. But when *Aurenge Zeb* who kept alwas in the Field, was to decamp from any place, where he lay with his Army, a Tent was carry'd before by a hundred and twenty Elephants, 1400 Camels, and 400 small Carts, to be set up where he was to go, and several thousands of Horse and Foot, went with 70 Elephants to secure the Ground to incamp on. Eight other Elephants carry'd eight Chairs, more like Biers, wrought with Gold and Silver, or Gilt Wood, and clos'd<sup>44</sup> with Cristal. There were three others<sup>45</sup> carry'd by 8 Men each, in one of which the King went, when he did not Mount an Elephant, especially if it rain'd, or the Way was dusty. All the great Men attended him afoot ; but when they went out of Town, and the Journey was long ; he us'd to command them to Mount a Horseback.

*Aurenge Zeb* got several Children. His eldest Son, (as we said elsewhere) was *Mahmud*, who following the Example of his Predecessors, in aiming at the Crown before his Fathers death, proceeded so openly, towards taking away his life, that he thought good to prevent him ; and accordingly caus'd him to be Poison'd one day,<sup>46</sup> when he went a Hunting ; and mistrusting he was not really dead,<sup>47</sup> when he was brought to the Palace, he cruelly caus'd a red hot Iron to be run in from the sole of his Foot to his Knee.

His  
Children.  
1st Son.

*Scialam* the 2d Son, by the death of *Mahmud*, had the right of Eldest, and with it entertain'd the same Thoughts, the

The 2d.



other had done, of destroying his Father. To this purpose he once caus'd a great Trench to be dug near *Aurenge Zeb's* Tent, that he might fall into it, as he pass'd by ; but he being told of it by an Eunuch, escap'd death ; and put the wicked *Scialam* into a dark Prison,<sup>48</sup> where he continu'd six Years, tho' 60 Years of Age, till a few Days before I came into the Camp.

The 3d. *Azam-scia*<sup>49</sup> third Son to *Aurenge Zeb*, play'd his part in Plotting against his Father, with the King of *Visapor* his Kinsman, before he was taken, and<sup>50</sup> lost his Kingdom ; so natural is it to this Race to hate their Father. He is now about 55 Years of Age.<sup>51</sup>

The 4th. The 4th Son is call'd *Akbar*,<sup>52</sup> now 45 Years of Age, more ambitious than all the rest ; for being sent by his Father in the Year 1680, with an Army of 30000 Men to make War on the *Ragia Lisonte*,<sup>53</sup> who borders on the Kingdom of *Asmire*, belonging to the *Mogul* ; instead of subduing him, he suffered himself to be persuaded by that Idolater, and by his own Ambition, to turn his Arms against his own Father. Having thus join'd his Forces with those of *Ragia* against *Aurenge Zeb*, who could never have believ'd it, and making a Body of 70000 Horse, and a competent number of Foot, most of them *Ragipurs*,<sup>54</sup> he came into *Asmire*, where his Father was. Here whilst he rested his Army much fatigu'd with the long March, the Crafty Old Man having no sufficient Force to oppose him, had recourse to Stratagem. He therefore sent a Confident of his into the Enemies Camp, with a Letter directed to his Son ; in which he commended his extraordinary wise Conduct in drawing the Idolaters to that place, to be all cut off, as had been agreed ; and that he would advance the next day, to put it in Execution. The Eunuch had orders to behave himself so that the Enemy growing jealous, might secure him, and intercepting the Letter rely no more on *Akbar*. It fell out accordingly ; and tho' he swore upon the *Alcoran*, that it was an invention of his Fathers to distract them, the chiefs of the Gentils would never believe him. These jealousies kept them so long employ'd, that *Aurenge Zeb*, as he had expected,<sup>55</sup> gain'd time to call his 2d Son to his defence with a powerful Army, who being come up, he defeated the *Raja* and *Akbar*. He putting himself with 4000 Horse under the Protection of *Samba*,<sup>56</sup> a Pagan Roicolet.<sup>57</sup> *Aurenge Zeb* made War so furiously on the said *Samba*, that he at last took him Prisoner, and caus'd his Head to be cut off, for having utter'd some indecent expressions in his presence. This Man's ruin was caus'd by Drunkenness ; for as he was drinking in his Tent with his Women-dancers, being told by the advanc'd Guards that the *Mogul's* Army was advancing, instead of going to Arms, he caus'd their Heads to be cut off ; saying, they<sup>58</sup>

would not dare to come where he was ; the same he did by a second Centinel. His Son,<sup>59</sup> whose Head was not so full of Wine, sav'd himself with a 1000 Horse, leaving his Father behind, who was carry'd away Prisoner, and not long after to his Grave.

*Akbar* escaping this Storm<sup>60</sup> went to *Goa*, where the *Portugueses* furnish'd him with Ships to go over to *Ormus*. There he was nobly receiv'd by the *Cham*, and afterwards by Order of *Scia-Selemon*,<sup>61</sup> then King of *Persia*, attended by many Troops of Souldiers to the Court of *Ispahan* ; where he was courteously entertain'd, and had an allowance to maintain him suitable to his Quality ; as I observ'd in the 2d Part.<sup>62</sup> The Old Man fearing this Son's Valour, us'd several Arts<sup>63</sup> to draw him out of *Persia*, but with small hopes of Success, because *Akbar* was not so weak as to be ensnar'd by his Father. Whilst I was at *Ispahan*, some Eunuchs told me, they were sent by a certain *Omrah*, who Govern'd on the Borders of *Candahor*, with a Present of several thousand *Roupies* to this Prince, which he would not accept, and therefore they were going back with the Mony. They offer'd to carry me into *India* by Land, but I refus'd their kindness. I was afterwards inform'd by others, that this was a contrivance<sup>64</sup> of *Aurenge Zeb*, who had order'd the *Omrah*, of whom *Akbar* had desir'd to borrow some thousand *Roupies*, to make him a Present of them, and to endeavour by fair means to draw him into *India* : which *Akbar* understanding by means of his Sister, he refus'd the Present. *Aurenge Zeb* took many Towns from *Savagi* for having assisted this Prince ; and continuing the War, had besieg'd him in his Court of *Gingi*.<sup>65</sup> The City is seated between 7 Mountains, each of which has a Fort on the top, and can be reliev'd by ways unknown to the *Moguls*, so that they lay before them to no purpose with 30000 Horse and as many Foot. I have not hear'd since I left the Country, what was the event of the Siege, which had then lasted seven Years.

*Aurenge Zeb's* youngest Son is *Sikandar*<sup>66</sup> now about 30 Years of Age, and infected like the rest, with the contagious Distemper of Ambition. Therefore the Old Man, tho' after subduing the Kings of *Visapor*, and *Golconda*, he had no Enemies left, but *Savagi*, who is inconsiderable in regard of him ; yet fearing with much reason the perverse Inclination of his Sons, he had continu'd in Arms in the Field for 15 Years ; and particularly four Years at *Galgala*, after defeating *Akbar*. He said his Father *Sciah-Gehan* had not so much discretion ; for he might have learnt by many years Experience, that the Kings of *Indostan* when they grow Old, must keep at the head of Powerful Armies, to defend themselves against their Sons. Yet I am of Opinion that notwithstanding all his precautions, he will come to no better end than his Predecessors. All I have



hitherto said concerning the intestine Wars between the *Moguls* was told me and affirm'd by several Souldiers in the Camp, who had been Eye-witnesses, and some gather'd out of creditable Authors.

## CHAPTER V

### OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE GREAT MOGUL.

4 Secretaries  
of State.

For the better management of Publick Affairs, and due Administration of Justice, the King keeps four Secretaries of State, who are to acquaint him with all that happens in the Empire, and to receive his Orders.<sup>1</sup> The first of them is call'd *Bagsci*,<sup>2</sup> and has the Charge of Warlike affairs, and looks that the Souldiers be pay'd, punish'd, and rewarded, as also that the *Omrahs* keep their full complement of Men. The 2d is call'd *Adelet*,<sup>3</sup> who takes care that Justice be administered, both in Civil and Criminal cases, giving the King an account what Ministers behave themselves well, and what ill.<sup>4</sup> The 3d they call *Divan*,<sup>5</sup> and to him it belongs to divide the *Jagors*<sup>6</sup> or Feofs among the *Omrahs*, *Subas*, and other Commanders; and to see they do not oppress the Inhabitants of the places committed to them with too heavy<sup>7</sup> Impositions. The 4th is known by the name of *Cansamon*;<sup>8</sup> who is a Treasurer General,<sup>9</sup> that causes all the Revenues of the Empire to be brought into the Treasury, and every Week, lays before the King what every Province is worth, and what it yields, and what Mony remains in the King's Coffers.

Distribution  
of business.

There are particular days appointed for these Secretaries to inform the King because a private Audience would not suffice for such multiplicity of business. *Monday*, therefore is lay'd aside for the Affairs of *Lahor*, *Dehli* and *Agra*; *Tuesday* for *Cabul*; *Wednesday* for the Kingdoms of *Bengala* and *Patna*; *Thursday* for that of *Guzaratte*; *Saturday* for that of *Brampour*; and *Sunday* for *Decan*; no business being done on *Friday*, because it is the *Mahometan* Festival.

Audiences.

*Aurenge Zeb* notwithstanding his continual application to these private Audiences with his Ministers, yet never fail'd of the Publick, except on *Fridays*, for the good of the Subjects; and this sometimes he did in three several places, one call'd *Divanxas*,<sup>10</sup> the other *Gosalxana*,<sup>11</sup> and the 3d *Adalet*.<sup>12</sup>

Absolute  
Power.

The Great *Mogul* is so absolute, that there being no written Laws, his Will in all things is a Law, and the last decision of all Causes, both Civil and Criminal. He makes a Tyrannical use of this absolute Power; for being Lord of all the Land, the Princes themselves have no certain place of

aboard, the King altering it at Pleasure ; and the same with the poor Peasants who have sometimes the Land they have cultivated taken from them, and that which is untill'd given them in lieu of it ; besides that they are oblig'd every year to give the King three parts of the Crop.<sup>13</sup> He never admits any Body into his Presence, empty handed ; and sometimes refuses admittance to draw a greater Present. For this reason the *Omrahs* and *Nababs* appointed to govern the Provinces, oppress the People in the most miserable<sup>14</sup> manner imaginable.

## CHAPTER VI

### OF THE REVENUES AND WEALTH OF THE GREAT MOGUL.

An infinite quantity of *Roupies*, is continually flowing into the Great Mogul's Exchequer ; for besides the usual Taxes and excessive Imposts, the Subjects must pay for their Land, which is all his. Besides when a General, or any other Person who has receiv'd the King's Pay dyes ; all his Goods fall to the King, without leaving the Children so much as a maintenance ; a Custom *Aurence Zeb* condemn'd, when he spoke of his Father, and yet all employments both Civil and Military are sold. For this reason no Family can continue long great ; but sometimes the Son of an *Omrah* goes a begging. Add to all this, that tho' in so vast an Empire, there be some Barren Lands, yet there are some Kingdoms wonderful<sup>1</sup> Fruitful, as is that of *Bengala*,<sup>1a</sup> which exceeds *Egypt*, not only in Plenty of Rice, Corn, Sugar, and all other necessities for the support of Humane Life ; but in the richest Commodities, as Silk, Cotton, Indigo and the like. Besides the Country is so Populous, that the Handicrafts,<sup>2</sup> tho' naturally given to sloath, are forc'd either by necessity or choice, to apply themselves to work on Carpets, Brocades, Embroidery, Cloth of Gold and Silver, and all sorts of Manufactures in Silk and Cotton, generally worn there ; besides those transported every Year, by an infinite number of Ships, not only into other Parts of *Asia*, but into *Africk* and *Europe*.

Mogul's  
great  
Revenue.

That the Reader may form some Idea of the Wealth of this Empire, he is to observe that all the Gold and Silver, which circulates throughout the World, at last Centers<sup>3</sup> here. It is well known that as much of it as comes out of *America*, after running through several Kingdoms of *Europe*, goes partly into *Turkey*, for several sorts of Commodities ; and part into *Persia*, by the way of *Smirna*<sup>4</sup> for Silk. Now the Turks not being able to abstain from Coffee, which comes from *Hyeman*,<sup>5</sup> and *Arabia*

Gold and  
Silver  
centers in  
this Empire.



*Fælix* ; nor Persia, *Arabia*, and the *Turks* themselves to go without the Commodities of *India*, send<sup>6</sup> vast quantities of *Mony* to *Moka*<sup>7</sup> on the Red Sea, near *Babel Mandel*;<sup>8</sup> to *Bassora* at the bottom of the *Persian Gulgh* ; and to *Bander Abassi* and *Gomeron*, which is afterwards sent over in Ships to *Indostan*. Besides the *Indian*, *Dutch*, *English*, and *Portuguese* Ships, that every Year carry the Commodities of *Indostan*, to *Pegu*, *Tanasserri*, *Siam*, *Ceylon*, *Achem*,<sup>9</sup> *Macassar*, the *Maldivé Islands*, *Mozambique* and other Places, must of necessity convey much Gold and Silver thither,<sup>10</sup> from those Countries. All that the *Dutch* fetch from the Mines in *Japan*, sooner or later, goes to *Indostan* ; and the goods carry'd hence into *Europe*, whether to *France*, *England*, or *Portugal*, are all purchas'd for ready *Mony*, which remains there.

I was told that the *Mogul* receives from only his Hereditary Countries, eighty *Carores*<sup>11</sup> of *Roupies*<sup>12</sup> a Year (every *Carore* is ten Millions) they could give me no certain account what the Conquer'd Kingdoms yield.

*Thevenot.*  
*Voy. des.*  
*Ind. c. 3.*  
*p. 12. De.*  
*Imp. Mog.*  
*sive India*  
*vera. p. 142.*

There is an Author,<sup>13</sup> not well acquainted with this Affair, who reduces this Monarch's Revenue to 330 Millions: Another<sup>14</sup> on the other side makes it infinite, and that alone which he says is in the Treasury, seems Fabulous. But they that will judge of it, by his expences must consider that the *Mogul* has dispers'd throughout his Empire 300000 Horse, and 400000 Foot, who have all great Pay.<sup>15</sup> At Court the daily expence is 50000 *Roupies*, to maintain the Elephants, Horses, Dogs, Hawks, Tigers, and Deer ; as also some hundreds of black and white Eunuchs to look to the Royal Palaces, Musicians, and Dancers. I am therefore of Opinion, that next to the Emperor of *China*, no Monarch in the World is equal to the Great *Mogul* in strength and Riches.

## CHAPTER VII

### OF THE WEAPONS, AND FORCES OF THE GREAT MOGUL.

Weapons  
us'd by the  
*Moguls*.

The Arms offensive of the *Moguls* are broad heavy Swords,<sup>1</sup> bow'd<sup>2</sup> like Scimitars ; and those made in the Country, being apt to break, the *English* furnish them with such as are made in *Europe*, ill shap'd Daggers, which they always wear hanging to their Girdle ; Bows and Arrows, Javelins, Pistols, Muskets ; and Pikes 12 Foot long, for the Foot ; but most of the Souldiers have Bows and Arrows. They have also Cannon in their Cities, and Armies.

Their Arms defensive,<sup>3</sup> are a round Buckler two foot Arms  
 Diameter, made of black Hides of wild Buffalos ; with many defensive.  
 Nails with large heads to ward off Arrows or Swords ; Coats of  
 Mail, Breast-Plates, Head-pieces,<sup>4</sup> and covering for their Arms  
 down to their Wrists.

As for the Souldiers pay, the *Mogul* manages it after a Souldiers  
 different manner than all other Princes in the World ; for he how pay'd.  
 pays them not himself, but gives the *Omrahs Jaghirs*, that is,  
 Tenures of Lands<sup>5</sup> to maintain a certain number, as was said  
 elsewhere, and this even to the Princes of the Blood.

The *Omrahs* are divided into *Hazariis*,<sup>6</sup> *Cuhzariis*, *Panges*, Degrees of  
*Hechets*, *Deh-Hazariis*, and *Duazdehazariis*,<sup>7</sup> of which last sort *Omrahs*.  
 the King's Eldest Son was. Their pay is proportionable to  
 the number of Horse they keep ; besides which the King  
 allows them a Pension for their own use. But they always  
 cheat the Souldiers of part of their Pay, and by that means grow  
 vastly rich ; especially if they happen to have a good *Jaghir*.  
 Some are oblig'd to keep 500 Horse, and have about 5000  
*Neapolitan* Crowns Revenue a Month. 'Tis true they spend  
 all they get in Presents they are forc'd to make the King every  
 year, upon certain Festivals, every Man according to his condi-  
 tion ; and in keeping so many Women, Servants, Camels, and  
 Horses of great value.

The Number of *Omrahs* throughout the Empire is not Their  
 settled, but they are generally under 40. They are prefer'd to number  
 the greatest Governments, and chief Posts at Court, and in the and duty.  
 Army ; and therefore are, as they themselves say, the Pillars of  
 the Empire. They appear abroad with noble Equipages ; some  
 on Elephants, others a Horseback, or on *Palankines*, attended  
 by a considerable number of Horse, and by the Guards of their  
 Palaces ; as also by abundance of Servants, some of whom go  
 before to clear the way, others drive away the Flies, or keep  
 off the Dust with Peacocks tails, others carry Water to drink,  
 and other things. All that reside at Court, are oblig'd to go  
 twice a day to pay their respects to the King ; that is, at ten  
 in the Morning, and about Sun sent, in the place where he  
 administers Justice ; or else they lose part of their Pay. They  
 are also to Mount the Guard once a Week for 24 Hours ; and  
 that day the King sends them their Meat, which they receive  
 with much respect, doing the *Taslim*<sup>8</sup> three times, that is, an  
 obeysance after their manner towards the Royal apartment,  
 laying their right Hand on the Ground, and then on their Head.  
 They are also oblig'd to attend the King at all times, as was  
 said above.

The *Mansebdars* are Gentlemen, or Horse,<sup>9</sup> who have very *Mansebdars*.  
 honourable Pay, and is call'd *Manseb*,<sup>10</sup> but less than the  
*Omrahs*. They are much respected in the Camp, because they



may easily rise to the degree of *Omrahs*, and own no superiour but the King. They differ from the others in this particular that they are not oblig'd to maintain above 4, or 5 Horse. As for their Pay they have 150 *Roupies* a Month, and sometimes 700, but instead of having them in ready Mony, they are forc'd to take the old Furniture of the King's House, at excessive Rates. There is no fix'd number of them,<sup>11</sup> but they are more than the *Omrahs*; there being 2, or 300 of them very often at Court, besides those in the Provinces, and Armies.

*Rowzinders.* The 3rd degree is of the *Rowzinders*,<sup>12</sup> who are also Horse,<sup>13</sup> but paid by the day, as their Name imports. Their Pay is not inferior to that of the *Mansebdars*, but the Post is not so honourable. The number of them is very great, and many of them are Clerks and under Clerks.

The light Horse are subject to the *Omrahs*, and those are counted the best, who have two Horses,<sup>14</sup> branded with their *Omrahs* mark on the Leg. Their pay is not fix'd, and depends on the generosity of the *Omrah*, but they stand<sup>15</sup> the *Mogul* in at least 25 *Roupies* a Month, considering the Revenues he assigns for their maintenance.

*The Foot.* The Foot and Musketers are in a miserable condition, some of them having 20, some 15, and others ten *Roupies* a Month. They carry their Rest ty'd to<sup>16</sup> the Musket, which they make but ill use of, for fear of burning their great Beard. The Artillery is divided into two sorts, the heavy Cannon, and the light, as they call it. The heavy consists of between 60 and 70 Guns, without reckoning 300 Field-pieces, fix'd on Camels,<sup>17</sup> as *Pedreroes* are on our Backs.<sup>18</sup> The other, 50 or 60 small Brass<sup>19</sup> Guns, which are the 2d sort, are on Carriages, with little red Banners, each drawn by two Horses; a third being led by,<sup>20</sup> to rest sometimes the one, and sometimes the other. Tho' the heavy Cannon cannot always follow the King, who sometimes goes out of the Road, to hunt, or take some other diversion, the light always does;<sup>21</sup> and when he is near the place appointed to Incamp, it is fir'd, that the Army may know he is arriv'd. All this Artillery, especially the heavy, is under the direction of *Franks*, or Christian Gunners, who have extraordinary pay; especially the *Portuguese*, *English*, *Dutch*, *Germans*, and *French*, who go from *Goa*, or run away from aboard Ships. Some of them formerly had 200 *Roupies* a Month; but now the *Moguls* have learnt somewhat of the Art they have less.<sup>22</sup> There is a General of the Artillery whose Pay is a Million a year, out of which he is to keep 200 Men.

*Rajapurs.* Besides the *Mogul* Souldiers, there are the Strangers, hir'd of the *Rajas*, who serve the *Mogul* for very great Pay, bringing with them a certain number of *Rajapurs*, and doing the same Duty as the *Omrahs* do; but with this difference, that they will not keep Guard in Forts, but in their own Tents, that

they may not be shut up 24 hours. The *Mogul* keeps them in his pay, as also the *Patens*, because they are Men of Courage ; and there are *Rajas* that can raise 20000 Horse<sup>23</sup> upon occasion ; as also to sow Discord and Jealousies among them, by favouring one more than another, and by that means be the safer from their contrivances,<sup>24</sup> and from the others who are not in his Pay.

The Souldiers of the Country differ neither in Offices nor Discipline from that already mention'd, but that they never follow the King ; but every Kingdom keeps its own to secure the Frontiers against Strangers, as the *Persians*, *Oganis*,<sup>25</sup> *Baluccis* and others.

All Souldiers whatsoever<sup>26</sup> receive their Pay duly every 2 Months from the King's Treasurer, except those that are pay'd by the *Omrahs*, as was said before. Nor is there any Danger their Pay should be kept from them ; for all People here living either by their Industry, or by serving the King (for want of private Revenues)<sup>27</sup> if they were not well<sup>28</sup> paid, they must either starve, or Mutiny. And to say the Truth, the greatest wonder in that Country is to see so many thousands live on the King's Pay. It is not so in *Europe*, for sometimes Souldiers have something of their own ; or when they want<sup>29</sup> Pay live upon others.

The number of Troops they said the *Mogul* kept when I was there mounted to<sup>30</sup> 300000 Horse and 400000 Foot. Part of these were<sup>31</sup> in the Camp at *Galgala* ; 60000 Horse and Foot at the Siege of *Gingi*. The third Camp was of<sup>32</sup> 7000 Horse and 10000 Foot ; the 4th of<sup>33</sup> 12000 Horse, commanded at *Pernala*<sup>34</sup> by *Azam-Scia's* Son the King's Grandson, and the rest were distributed about the Frontiers and in Garrisons.<sup>35</sup>

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE MANNERS, HABIT, MARRIAGES AND FUNERALS OF THE MOGULS.

There are two Principal Festivals kept in the Court of the Great *Mogul*, the one call'd *Barsgant*,<sup>1</sup> the other *Tol*.<sup>2</sup> The first is on the King's Birth day, or those of the Princes of the Blood, because *Bars* in the Country Language signifies Year, and *Gant* a Knot, and those People every Year make a knot in a Cord, they<sup>3</sup> either wear about them or keep at home, to know their Age. This Solemnity is kept with great Pomp, all the great Ones coming to wish the King many Happy years with Presents of Mony and Jewels. *Sciah Gehan* was mightily pleas'd they should present him with Gold Vessels set with

The *Mogul's* Birth day.



Jewels, to hold sweet Waters,<sup>4</sup> which he plac'd in the Chamber that serv'd for his leud Practices. It was set out with Looking Glasses<sup>5</sup> adorn'd with precious Stones, and all the Roof sparkling with Diamonds. That Day the *Mogul* sits on the famous Throne begun by *Tamerlan* and finish'd by *Sciah Gehan*. It is all over set with Diamonds, Emeralds, Rubies, Pearls and Sapphires ; especially the Pearls on the twelve little Pillars, which close the three sides, are beyond all that can be imagin'd.<sup>6</sup> Then the Roof of it and all other Parts is so orderly<sup>7</sup> enrich'd with jewels of inestimable Value, all found within the Empire, that some make the Value of it to rise to fifty Millions, but in reality it is not to be Valu'd.<sup>8</sup>

*Taver. Voy.  
des Indes  
l. 2. c. 8.  
The Festi-  
val call'd  
Tol.*

The second Festival is that of *Tol*, which in that Language signifies Weight. Some suppose it to be so call'd because the King weighs himself in a pair of Scales, to see whether he is grown Fatter, but having ask'd the question in the Camp of several credible Persons, and particularly of Christians born at *Agra* and *Dehli*, who had serv'd there many Years, they told me it was a meer Romance ;<sup>9</sup> for not only *Aurenge Zeb*, but none of his Predecessors ever weigh'd themselves.<sup>10</sup> 'Tis true this Festival is kept in the King's House ; but they weigh Mony, Jewels, and other Things of value presented by the great Men and Favourites, which are afterwards distributed among the Poor with great Solemnity. It is done some Days after the *Barsgant*, either sooner, or later, as the King thinks fit.

*Description  
of the  
Indians.*

The *Indians* are well shap'd, it being rare to find any of them crooked,<sup>11</sup> and for Stature like the *Europeans*. They have black Hair, but not Curl'd, and their Skin is of an Olive Colour ; and they do not love White, saying it is the Colour of Leprousie. They wash often, anointing themselves after it with rich Oyls and Oyntments. They live in low Houses, with Trees about them, so that their Cities at a distance look like Woods.<sup>12</sup> There are no Inns for Travellers among them as was said at first ;<sup>13</sup> but in the Cities and great Towns they have some Places call'd *Sarays*, where Strangers may have Houseroom. They use Carts to travel in (which are shut when there are Women in them,) drawn by Oxen, and Asses when the Journey is short. The great Men and those that are well to pass<sup>14</sup> are carry'd upon Elephants, or in *Palankines*. There is none of them but endeavours the best he can to go to *Mecca*, to become a *Hagi*<sup>15</sup> or Saint. They delight very much in Hunting, and make<sup>16</sup> use of Dogs and tame Leopards. They take Water Foul<sup>17</sup> after this manner. They go into the Water up to the Chin, covering their Faces with Birds of the same sort they would take, artificially made ; Then the Bird coming near his likeness they draw him down by the Legs and stifle him. The *Chineses* and *Mexicans* do the same, as shall be said in its Place. Being excellent Archers they shoot Birds flying, with Arrows.

The *Mahometans* of *Indostan*, tho' barbarous in other Respects, are not so Deceitful, so Proud, or such Enemies to Christians, as the *Turks*; and a Christian may therefore keep them company with safety. The *Pagans* are still more just to Travellers. As for Courage neither *Mahometans* nor *Gentils* have much of it. The best of them are the *Baluccis* on *Persia*, the *Patans* of the Kingdom of *Bengala*, and the *Rasbootis*<sup>18</sup> very great Thieves. Their Disposition.

The Languages spoken at Court are the *Arabian* and the *Persian*. As for Sciences they can make no progress in them for want of Books; for they have none but some small manuscript Works of *Aristotle* and *Avicenne*<sup>19</sup> in *Arabick*. They hold Astrology in great account, in so much that the King undertakes nothing without the advice of his Astrologers. In Physick they have but small skill, and cure several Diseases by Fasting. They also delight in Musick, for which they have<sup>20</sup> several sorts of Instruments. Language and Learning.

They spend all they have in Luxury keeping a vast number of Servants, but above all of Concubines. These being many every one of them strives to be belov'd above the rest, using all manner of Allurements,<sup>21</sup> Perfumes and sweet Oynments. Sometimes to lighten their Masters Lusts they give him Compositions of Pearl, Gold, Opium and Amber; or else much Wine that he may require Company in Bed. Then some drive away the Flies, others rub his Hands and Feet, others Dance, others play on Musick, and others do other things; and hence it is that for the most part they take the lawful Wives place; who sitting near her Husband modestly winks at this Affront, till she has an opportunity to revenge herself. These Women are committed to the custody of Eunuchs, but it is delivering up the Sheep to the Wolves; so lascivious are the Women. And yet they are excusable, because the Husbands, tho' they be Peasants, lye apart from their Wives, and only call them when they have occasion.

The great Men have noble Structures, with several Courts, and the Tops of the Houses flat to take the Air, and Fountains with Carpets about them to sit and receive Visits from their Friends. Inferiors salute laying their Hand on their Head, but Equals only bow their Body. In their Discourse they are modest and civil; not using so many actions with their Hands, nor talking so loud as some *Europeans* do. The Table is spread on the Ground without Napkins or Table-Cloth; nor do they Drink till they have done Eating. Their greatest delight is to chew *Bettè* all Day.

The Vests both of Men and Women are narrow towards the Waste, and hang down half way the Leg; under them they wear long Breeches down to their Ankles, so that they serve for Stockins. The Foot remains bare, with a sort of flat Shooes, Habit.





like our Slippers ; which are easily slipt off when they go into Rooms, to keep them clean, they being cover'd with Carpets. They wrap a very fine piece of Muslin or Calico about their Head, and never uncover it to do Reverence to Superiors, but bow their Body, putting their right Hand on the Ground and then on the Head, as if they said they submitted themselves to be trampled on by them. They generally wear the Vest and Turbant of Cotton, but the Sash is of Silk and Gold.

Women.

The *Mahometan* Women do not appear in publick, except only the vulgar Sort, and the leud Ones. They cover their Heads, but the Hair hangs down behind in several Tresses. Many of them bore their Noses to wear a Gold Ring set with Stones.

Marriages.

The *Mahometan* Indians Marry very Young, but the Idolaters at all Ages. These last may not have several Wives at once like the *Mahometans* ; but when the first is Dead may take another, provided she be a Maid, and of the same Race, or Tribe. The Ceremony is thus, If they be Persons of Quality they make the Cavalcade at Night with Lights, abundance of People go before making a displeasing Concert with several Instruments, as Pipes, Kettle-Drums as long as a Barrel, and Copper-Plates, which they beat.<sup>22</sup> Then follow abundance of Children a Horseback, next to whom comes the Bridegroom, well Clad and Mounted, with several *Banians* about him, with their Vests and *Civas*<sup>23</sup> dy'd in *Zafran*,<sup>24</sup> and other Persons carrying Umbrells, and Banners ; and having taken a round about the City goes to the Brides-House. Here a *Brachman* having said some Prayers over them both, puts a Cloth between the Husband and Wife, and orders the Husband with his bare Foot to touch the Wives,<sup>25</sup> and then the Wife the Husbands, which done the Marriage is concluded. When the Woman is carry'd home, the Goods go before, being for the most part Stuffs of several Colours, and a Cradle for the Child that is to be got ;<sup>26</sup> all this with the noise of several Instruments. Rich People make a Hut before their Houses, cover'd both inside and outside with Stuffs and Carpets, to entertain their Guests under Shelter. Sometimes they treat them for eight Days together.

Women  
Fruitful.

All the Women are Fruitful, which is caus'd by the Air and Provisions,<sup>27</sup> and are so easily deliver'd, that some of them go wash<sup>28</sup> in the River the same Day. They bring up their Children naked till seven Years of Age, nor do they take much care to teach them to go,<sup>29</sup> but let them tumble about the Ground as much as they will, as soon<sup>30</sup> as they are Born.

Barbarous  
Liberty.

In *Malabar* the Women (even those that are of Quality and Kings Sisters) have the liberty to choose a Man to lye with them. When a *Naire*<sup>31</sup> or *Gentil* is in a Ladies Chamber, he leaves his Staff or his Sword at the Door, that others who would go in may see the Place is taken up ; and no Man has the boldness

to disturb him. Thus there being no possibility of knowing who is the Father of the Child that is born into the World, the Succession is order'd after another manner ; that is, when one dies his Sisters Children Inherit, because there can be no doubt made of the Kindred.

*Thev. Voy.*  
*des. Ind.*  
l. 2. p. 258.

When a Man or Woman has committed such a Crime as to be expell'd their Tribe ; as if a Woman had lain with a *Mahometan*, she must live for a certain time only upon Corn found in the Cows Dung, if she will<sup>32</sup> be receiv'd again.

Punish-  
ment.

As to the manner of Burying, the most usual is to wash the Body first in a River, or Pool ; then burn it in a neighbouring *Pagod*, and throw the Ashes into the same Water. In some Places they leave them by the River side. The manner of carrying them is also different, according to the Fashions of each Country. In some the Body well Clad, and sitting is carry'd with Drums beating, and a long Train of Kindred and Friends ;<sup>33</sup> and after being wash'd is encompass'd with Wood. The Wife who has been that while<sup>34</sup> near the Body singing, and expressing a desire to Die, is afterwards bound by a *Brachman* near the dead Body and burnt with it ; the Friends pouring Oyl<sup>35</sup> on them that they might consume the faster.

Burials.

In other Places the Bodies are carry'd cover'd on a Bier to the River side ; and after they have been wash'd they are put into a Hut full of sweet Wood, if the dead Person has left Mony to defray the charge ; then the Woman that is to be burnt, takes leave of her Kindred and Friends, showing a contempt of Death, and sits down in the Hut, bearing up her Husband on her Knees. Then recommending herself to the Prayers of the *Brachmans*, desires them to set Fire speedily. A Barbarous Inhumanity ! And yet they make a scruple of killing Flies and Pismires.

In other Places they fill wide deep Trenches with combustible Matter, where laying the Husbands Body the *Brachmans* cast in the Woman, after they have Sung and Danc'd. Sometimes there are maiden Slaves, that throw themselves in after their Master to show the love they bear him, then the Ashes are cast into the River.

There are other Places where they Bury the Husband's Bodies with the Legs across ; they put the Woman into the same Grave, and when they have cover'd them up to the Neck<sup>36</sup> the *Brachmans* come and strangle her. Those wretched Women that refuse to be Burnt, are<sup>37</sup> to shave their Heads, and remain Widows all their Lives ; are despis'd by their Family and Tribe, because they have fear'd Death, and can never recover their Reputation, whatsoever good Actions they do, unless some young Woman of singular Beauty should happen to get a second Husband. Yet there are some that transgress the Laws of



Widowhood ; and because their Kindred expell them,<sup>38</sup> they have recourse to the *Mahometans* or Christians, forsaking their own Religion. In short the Gentils make the Widows Honour consist in being Burnt wth the Bodies of their Husbands, and if they be ask'd the Reason they can alledge none but antient Custom.

Since the *Mahometans* are become Sovereigns of *India* they do not easily consent to this Inhumanity,<sup>39</sup> which the *Brachmans* would have held up for their own Interest ; for as was said above, they who alone may touch the Ashes, carry off all the Gold and Silver the wretched Woman had about her. The great *Mogul*<sup>40</sup> and other Princes have commanded the Governours of their Towns to hinder<sup>41</sup> the Practice of this Abuse, but they do not so strictly observe it,<sup>42</sup> provided they have considerable Presents made them, and thus the difficulty they find in getting the leave saves many Women the Dishonour.

Mourning.

The Mourning us'd<sup>43</sup> by the *Gentils* is Shaving their Beard and Head, when any Kindred within the third degree Dye. The Women break their Glass and Ivory Bracelets they wear on their Arms, as they also do at their King's Death. Having before spoke of<sup>44</sup> the *Mahometan* Ceremonies it is needless to repeat it in this Place.

## CHAPTER IX

### OF THE CLIMATE, FRUIT, FLOWERS, MINERALS, BEASTS AND COIN, OF INDOSTAN.

Heats and  
Seasons.

Generally throughout all *Indostan* the Heat is Excessive, except near the Mountains. We *Europeans* fare ill there because of the Seasons differing from ours ; because their Winter begins in *June* and ends in *September* ; tho' there falls less Rain than at *Goa*. Before and after Winter there are dreadful Storms and Hurricans, three Months from the North and three from the South,<sup>1</sup> so that there is no Sailing<sup>2</sup> about *India* but<sup>3</sup> six months in the Year.

Clear Air.

Between *Suratte* and *Agra* the Metropolis of the *Mogul's* Dominions, it only Rains at one certain time of the Year, that is, during those three Months the Sun is about the Tropick of *Cancer* ; the other nine Months the Sky is so clear, that there is scarce a Cloud<sup>4</sup> to be seen above the *Horizon*.

Product.

Having spoke of the Fruit when I was at *Goa*, there is no need of adding any more. *Indostan*<sup>5</sup> abounds in Rice, excellent Wheat, and all sorts of Grain,<sup>6</sup> vast Flocks and Herds of Cattle, Butter and Cheese, There being no Grapes, the Wine

is brought out of *Arabia* and *Persia*; or is made in the Country of *Raisins*, which being also brought from abroad, they steep<sup>7</sup> and boil in Water. The common Drink of the Country is distill'd *Sura*, but not very wholesome.

The Flowers are very fragrant, and much better Colour'd than any in *Europe*. There are many Simples,<sup>8</sup> which they carry into *Europe* for Physical Uses, which I do not describe, because I will not Treat of what others have given an Account of. Flowers and Herbs.

As for Metals the *Mogul's* Country affords none but Copper, Iron, and Lead, but the want of others is abundantly made amends for by the rich Mines of Diamonds and other precious Stones. The best is that in the Kingdom of *Golconda*, seven Days Journey East of *Agra*, which the Natives call *Gani*, and the *Persians* *Cular*.<sup>9</sup> It is in a Plain five Miles in Compass, between a Village and some Mountains, which produce nothing at all. They say it was discover'd 140 Years since after this manner. A Peasant sowing in that Plain, found such a rich Diamond, that tho' he did not understand those things, yet he would carry it to a Merchant of *Golconda* who delighted in them. The News was immediately spread about the City, and every one that had Mony digging in that Place, there were Stones found from 12 to 40 Carats; and particularly that great Diamond of some hundred Carats, which *Emir Gamla*, the King of *Golconda's* General gave *Aurenge Zeb* when he came into his Service.<sup>10</sup> Afterwards the King took the Mine to himself, and now the Merchants buy it of him by Spans. Metals.  
Diamond Mines.

The Manner of Digging<sup>11</sup> the Stones is this. First they enclose a spot of Ground much bigger than that they Buy to Dig, with a little Wall two Spans high; then they dig the Ground mark'd out by the King's Officers 12 or 14 Spans down to the Water, below which there is no hopes of any Diamonds, and carry the Earth into the aforesaid Enclosure in great Baskets. When it is all together they fill the Place full of Water, and leave it so till it is all Mud. Then they add more Water, and opening the Holes which are at every Step in the Wall, the Mud runs out, and the Cravel remains; which is again cover'd with Water, if it be not clean. When dry they put it into Baskets for the Sand to drop through, and then putting it into the same Place they beat it with long Staves. Then they take it up again and sifting it,<sup>12</sup> they spread it and pick out the Diamonds in the presence of the Buyer, and of the Officers, who take those that are above a certain weight for the King.<sup>13</sup> How the Diamonds are found.

There are Diamond Mines at a Place call'd *Raolconda*,<sup>14</sup> in the Province of *Carnasica*, in the Kingdom of *Visapour*, but they do not work at them. The King of *Succadan* in the Island of *Borneo*<sup>15</sup> has some better, but there are few of them, and they are found in the Sand of the River *Succadan*. Diamonds in Borneo.



*Gazellers.*

Besides the Birds and Beasts *Europe* affords, *India* has others peculiar to it ; as for instance the *Gazellers*, of which we have spoke in the two precedent Volumns ; they have Horns a Span and a half long, and twisted or spiral. To take them they make use of the tame Leopard,<sup>16</sup> or of the Male *Gazelle* thus. They tie him with a Rope wound about under his Belly ; and when they see a Flock of *Gazelles* let him go among them. The Male that is in the Flock, being jealous comes out to attack him, and his Horns being spiral or winding does so intangle himself,<sup>17</sup> that not being able to retire when he would, the Hunters have time to take him.

Other  
Beasts.

There are also wild Cows and other wild Beasts we spoke of when we gave an account of the Game at *Damam*, Camels, Dromedaries, Rhinoceroses,<sup>18</sup> as tall as a large Ox, and Elephants. There are several ways of taking these ;<sup>19</sup> sometimes they dig Trenches and cover them, into which when they fall they cannot get out. In other Places they carry a Female<sup>20</sup> into the Woods just at the time when she is in her Lust ;<sup>21</sup> at her Cries the wild Male comes, and couples with her contrary to<sup>22</sup> other Beasts, Belly to Belly,<sup>23</sup> in the narrow Place where she was left. When the Male would be gone, he finds the way stopp'd up, and the Hunters at a distance, throw over him great and small Ropes ;<sup>24</sup> so that his Trunk and Legs being secur'd they can come near without Danger. However they lead him away between two tame Elephants,<sup>25</sup> and beat him if he makes a noise. Afterwards he grows tame among the rest of his kind ; and then he that has them in charge, teaches him to Salute Friends with his Trunk, to Threaten, or Strike whom he pleases, and to kill a Man Condemn'd to that sort of Death, with an Iron fix'd at the end of a Pole, and then the Manager<sup>26</sup> sits upon his Neck. It is of it self a very tractable Creature, when it is not Enrag'd or in Lust ; for then he that Rules it<sup>27</sup> is in Danger. They quiet him with Artificial Fire-works, or directing him into a River, where, tho' so large, he swims extraordinary well. The She Elephants carry their young 12 Months ;<sup>28</sup> they live 100 years ;<sup>28a</sup> and carry about 3200 Pounds weight *Spanish*.<sup>29</sup> Those of *Ceylon* tho' smaller are the most valu'd of any in *India*,<sup>30</sup> because they have more Courage, and as the *Indians* imagine are respected by the others. But those of *Golconda*, *Cochinchina*, *Siam*, and the Island *Sumatra* are stronger, and more surefooted on the Mountains. It is dear keeping of them ;<sup>31</sup> for besides the Flesh they eat,<sup>31a</sup> Paste made of Meal with Sugar Canes,<sup>32</sup> and other things, they give them *Aqua-vitae* to drink.

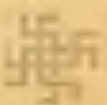
There are also Stags, Lions, Tigers, and Leopards, which they hunt with good Dogs, and several<sup>33</sup> Creatures not to be found in *Europe*, of which mention was made among the Game of *Daman*.

I must not omit here to give an account of the Musk Wild Musk-Goat. Goat<sup>34</sup> found in the Country of *Azmer*. Its Snout is like a Goat, the Hair like a Stag, and its Teeth like a Dog. Under the Belly it has a little Bladder, as big as an Egg, full of a thick congeal'd Blood, which being cut off is ty'd up in a Skin, that the scent may not evaporate. After which the Beast lives but a short time. They are also taken on the cold Mountains of the Kingdom of *Butan*, in the Latitude of 56 and 60 Degrees, but the greatest quantity and the best comes out of the Country of the *Tartars* bordering on *China*, where they make a great Trade of it. The Sent is so strong that having bought a little at *Peking*, it was smelt at a great distance, as if my Portumantue had been full of it, which caus'd some dispute with the Customers. They so adulterate it,<sup>35</sup> mixing it with other Blood, that when it comes into *Europe* it is not a quarter Musk.

As for Foul, there are all<sup>36</sup> in *India* that *Europe* affords, and Foul. many peculiar to the Country. In the Woods there are abundance of Peacocks, several sorts of Parrots and green Pigeons. There are most Beautiful Birds, to be kept in Cages, both sightly for their Feathers, and Pleasant for singing sweetly. I saw some half as big as Wheat-ears, all spotted like a Tiger.<sup>37</sup> Besides the Wild Hens, there is a sort of tame ones whose Skin and Bones are very black, but they are well tasted.<sup>38</sup>

The Mony Coin'd in *Indostan* is, *Roupies*, half *Roupies*, Coin. and quarter *Roupies* of Silver ; as also *Roupies* of Gold, worth 13 Silver *Roupies* and a quarter, or six pieces of Eight *Spanish* Mony, half *Roupies*, and quarters. On, both sorts there are *Persian* Characters<sup>39</sup> with the Name of the City, where it is Coin'd, and the King's name on the Reverse. There are also Copper Pieces, call'd *Pesies*,<sup>40</sup> 54 whereof make a *Roupie* of silver. The *Rajas*, or Pagan Petty Kings, in their Dominions Coin Gold pieces call'd *Pagods*,<sup>41</sup> because they have a little *Pagod* stamp'd on them, and these are worth a *Zecchine* of *Venice*. Both the Gold and Silver, are much finer than the Gold of the *Spanish* Pistoles,<sup>42</sup> and Silver of their Pieces of Eight. Foreign Coin is also current in the *Mogul's* Country ; as *Zecchines*, by which there is much got,<sup>43</sup> Pieces of Eight, *Abassis*<sup>44</sup> of *Persia*, and other sorts ; but more particularly in the Ports, and places of Trade.

They reckon by *Leckes*, each worth 100000 *Roupies* ; *Crous* or *Crorores*, which are 100 *Leckes* ; and *Arebs*,<sup>45</sup> that are ten *Crous*. The *Balman*, and *Man*,<sup>45</sup> are Weights of 55 Pounds. Another smaller Weight is call'd *Goer* or *Keer*,<sup>47</sup> but they sometimes change according to the Princes will.<sup>48</sup>





A  
VOYAGE  
ROUND THE WORLD

By DR. JOHN FRANCIS GEMELLI CARERI.

PART III

Containing the most Remarkable Things he saw in

INDOSTAN

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BOOK III

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CHAPTER I

OF THE SEVERAL RELIGIONS IN INDOSTAN.

This vast Empire, besides the Natives, is inhabited by *Persians, Tartars, Abissinians, Armenians, Jews, Christians, Mahometans*, and others<sup>1</sup>; but the most universal Religions are the *Mahometan*, and the *Pagan*; for the first is profess'd by the *Mogul*, and the other by the antient Lords and People of the Country. Having discours'd fully of the *Mahometan* in the first Volumn, and these Emperors being of the *Turkish Sect*,<sup>2</sup> it only Remains to give a short Account in this Chapter of the *Pagan*. All the *Gentils* in *India* hold the Transmigration of Souls, like the *Pythagoreans*,<sup>3</sup> by which means, in their Opinion, the Souls after Death receive the reward or punishment of their good or evil Actions, being put into good or bad Creatures. And therefore they pay singular Honour to the Cow, by the Advice of *Ramak*<sup>4</sup> their Legislator, as being Creatures that, besides the good they do to Men, shall receive the Souls of good Men. By reason of this same opinion, they take special Care of all other Creatures; not only forbearing to Eat them, but using all means to prevent others Killing them; and as was said before, in some Cities they have Hospitals, where they are at a vast Expence in looking after sick Creatures.<sup>5</sup>

Transmigra-  
tion of  
Souls.

84 Tribes.

Tho' they all Profess one Religion, yet they are divided into 84 Sects,<sup>6</sup> or Tribes;<sup>7</sup> each of which has its particular Rites and Ceremonies; and some peculiar Profession or Trade, which their Children never leave, without<sup>8</sup> they would be for ever

reputed Infamous ; as I was told by a *Brachman*, I sent for on purpose to be inform'd in what relates to them.

The first and principal Tribe is that of the *Brachmans*, who are Professors of Learning, and Priests of their Religion, which is divided into ten several Sects. The first five feed on Herbs, and Grain,<sup>9</sup> without ever Eating any Thing that has Life ; and are call'd, the first *Maratas*,<sup>10</sup> the second *Telanga*,<sup>11</sup> the third *Canara*,<sup>12</sup> the fourth *Drovaras*,<sup>13</sup> and the fifth *Guzaratti*,<sup>14</sup> the four first Eat in one anothers Houses, but not in those of the *Guzarattes*. The other five Sects Eat of all living Creatures, except Fish ; and are call'd *Gauri*,<sup>15</sup> *Canogia*,<sup>16</sup> *Triatori*,<sup>17</sup> which are the *Brachmans* of *Goa*, *Gagavali*,<sup>18</sup> and *Pongaput*,<sup>19</sup> none of which Eat in the House of another.

*Brachmans*  
the first  
Tribe, 10  
Sects of  
them.

In these 10 Sects, or Orders of *Brachmans*, no Man may Marry out of his own Tribe. In the cross Line, in which only they may take Wives, the Prohibition reaches to the seventh Degree<sup>20</sup> of Consanguinity, or Affinity ; but the Daughter of a Brother may Marry the Son of a Sister, that is, her Cousin ;<sup>21</sup> yet not the contrary that is the Son of the Brother with the Daughter of the Sister, that the same Blood may not come into the Family. The *Guzarattis* are not Subject to this law.

Whom they  
may Marry,  
and whom  
not.

All these 10 Tribes of *Brachmans* Converse with one another; but if one comes that is not wash'd, he may not touch any Body, lest he Defile them ; it being a Precept among them to wash their Body Morning, Noon and Night. Their Widows do not Marry again, and if they will Burn themselves with their Husbands Body, they gain much Reputation ;<sup>22</sup> such as will not are look'd upon as Cowardly, and Infamous.

The second Tribe is that of the *Rajapours*, or Princes descended from warlike Men. These only Eat in the Houses of their own Tribe, or in those of the *Brachmans*, in which all the others may Eat, each according to its Quality. The Wives of *Rajapours* cannot avoid being Burn'd with their Husbands, if they have no Male Issue ; and if they refuse, are carry'd by Force. Tho' other Tribes are allow'd but one Wife ;<sup>23</sup> the *Rajapours*, as being free Princes may have as many as they please. Some of these *Rajapours* Border on the Lands of *Goa* ; for besides *Savagi*, there is *Chiotia*,<sup>24</sup> near *Daman* ; and *Grasia*,<sup>25</sup> not far from *Suratte*, both Robbers, living among Mountains, like Beasts. The King of *Portugal* allows *Chiotia* 30000 *Mamudis*,<sup>26</sup> which make 5500 Ducats of *Naples*, and the *Mogul* gives the other a like Sum out of the Neighbourhood of *Suratte*, that they may not Rob, but defend Travellers against Thieves. The King *Penti*,<sup>27</sup> near *Bazaim*, might more properly be call'd King of the Woods, he Living in them, like an Out-law. There is some difference of Sects among the *Rajapours* ; but they all agree in eating Fish, except Beef, and tame Swine,

*Rajapours*  
the second  
Tribe.





*Banians*  
the third  
Tribe.

The third Tribe of Banians is divided into twenty Sects, none of which Marries into the other. They Eat nothing that has Life, but only Herbs and Pulse. Almost all these are Merchants ; and being bred up to it from their Infancy, they are much greater Cheats than the *Armenians* and *Jews*.

*Paravous*  
2 Tribes.

There are two Tribes of *Paravous*,<sup>28</sup> the one call'd *Patara*, the other ——— (Here the Author wants the Name of the Second). These Eat all sorts of Flesh, but Beef ;<sup>29</sup> one of them<sup>30</sup> neither Eats with, nor Marries into the other ; and their Wives when the Husband Dies may Marry again.

*Sutar* 2  
Tribes.

There are also two Tribes of *Sutars*,<sup>31</sup> or Timber-Men ; the one call'd *Concanas*, the other *Guzaratti*. The first Eat all sorts of Flesh, except Beef ; the others only Fish. They do not Marry out of their own Tribe, nor do they Eat with one another, and the Widows Marry.

*Cansars* 2  
Tribes.

The *Cansars*,<sup>32</sup> or Brasiers, are also divided into *Concanas*, and *Guzarattis*, differing even in their Trade in some measure, and Eat all Flesh,<sup>33</sup> except Beef. But they do not intermix in Marriages, or Eat together, and the Widows Marry again.

*Gaulis*.

The *Gaulis*,<sup>34</sup> who sell Milk, and are Herdsmen, are another Tribe, that Eats every Thing but Beef, and tame Swines Flesh. Their Widows Marry again.

*Malis*.

The *Malis*,<sup>35</sup> or Sellers of Flowers, are another Tribe, that Eat all Things with the same Exception as the last, and their Widows Marry again without any Dishonour.

*Sonars*.

The *Sonars*,<sup>35a</sup> or Goldsmiths, are divided into *Concanas*, and *Guzarattis*, and observe the same as the *Braziers*.

*Valuoris*.

There is another Tribe of *Valuoris*,<sup>36</sup> or Gardiners, who Eat all Flesh, but Beef and Pork. They neither Eat with, nor Marry into another Tribe ; their Widows Marry again.

*Columbines*.

The *Columbines*,<sup>37</sup> or Peasants make up another Tribe. They Eat Flesh with the same Exception, and are divided into *Chodris*, *Matares*, *Pateis*, *Routas*, *Naichis*, *Morias*, *Gorels*,<sup>37a</sup> who go a Horseback<sup>37b</sup> when they are to be Marry'd, and *Doblas*<sup>38</sup> great Wizards, inhabiting the Woods, where they Eat Rats,<sup>39</sup> Lizards, Snakes,<sup>40</sup> Moles, and all sorts of Vermin, tho' never so Stinking. Their Women go Naked, only covering their Privities with a Leaf. These, and other Tribes of labouring People do not intermix in Marriages, but may Eat together, and the Women<sup>41</sup> Marry again.

*Batala's*.

The *Batala's*<sup>42</sup> are also Country People who wear a Line like the *Brachmans*, being one<sup>43</sup> made up of three, which seems to signify the Unity of God in three Persons. They Eat nothing that has Life, but Herbs ; nor do they Marry into other Tribes. The Widows do not Marry again.

*Bandarines*.

The *Bandarines*,<sup>44</sup> who Prune<sup>45</sup> the Palm, or Coco-Trees, and draw the *Sura* from it, are divided into *Rautis*, *Chodris*, *Shiadas*,

*Kitas*, *Charadas*, and other sorts which do not Marry into one another ; but Eat together, and of all sorts of Flesh, except Beef, and tame Swine. The Widows Marry again.

The *Doblis*,<sup>46</sup> or Washers of Linnen, are divided into *Con-* *Doblis.* *cana's*, and *Guzarattis*. They Eat together, but Marry each in their own Tribe, and Eat any Flesh but Beef and Pork. The Widows Marry again,

The Fisher-men<sup>47</sup> are divided into many Races, or Tribes, Fishers. call'd *Coles*, *Mavis*, *Purubias*, *Vaitis*, and *Birmassis*. They Eat in one anothers Houses, of all Flesh with the usual Exception, and the Widows Marry again.

The *Sotrias*<sup>48</sup> make two distinct Tribes ; the one call'd *Sotrias.* *Salunkis*, the other *Coles*. They neither Eat nor Marry together. They Eat Flesh like the rest, and their Widows Marry again. When the Elder Brother Dies, the Younger takes his Wife ; but if the Younger Dies, the Elder does not so.

Those that carry Salt are call'd *Charanas*,<sup>49</sup> and make *Charanas.* several Tribes. They take Wives out of any of them, Eat Flesh as above, and their Widows have the Liberty to Marry again.

The *Bangasalis*,<sup>50</sup> or Salt Merchants Eat all living Creatures *Bangasalis.* except Beef, tame Swines Flesh, Crabs, Lobsters, Crevisses,<sup>51</sup> and all Shell Fish. They do not Marry out of their Tribes, but the Widows may have second Husbands.

The Tribe of *Gantias*,<sup>52</sup> who are all Traders, Eat nothing *Gantias.* but Fish. Neither Marry into, nor Eat with another Tribe ; so that for want of another, a poor Man sometimes gets a Wife with 50000 Crowns.

In *Suratte* there are *Babrias*,<sup>53</sup> *Catis*,<sup>54</sup> and *Rajapours*, who *Babrias.* Eat only Fish, and wild Flesh. They Eat together, but do not Marry out of their Tribes. Their Wives do not Marry again, but Burn themselves, if they will.<sup>55</sup>

The *Farasis*,<sup>56</sup> make Sandals like those of the *Recolets*. Eat *Farasis.* any sort of Flesh, tho' Rotten, Eat together, and inter-mix in Marriages, without any Prohibition ; but their Tribe being reputed very Vile, they are not allow'd to enter the Houses of other Gentils, or touch them ; and must keep at a great distance.

In the Country of the *Naines*<sup>57</sup> of Cape *Comori*,<sup>58</sup> they are call'd *Polias*,<sup>59</sup> and as they go along the Streets, if they will not venture to be Beaten,<sup>60</sup> must cry *Po, Po*,<sup>61</sup> that the other Gentils may take care their very Shadow does not touch them, which would Defile them, and they would be forc'd<sup>62</sup> to Wash.

This Custom makes the *Jesuits* that are Missioners there lead a very uneasy Life ; for being oblig'd to imitate the ways of that Tribe, the better to ingratiate themselves with those Barbarians,<sup>63</sup> they are forc'd to Wash themselves as many times



a Day as the others do ; to feed upon raw Herbs ; and when two Fathers meet in the Street, one acting the *Naires*, and the other the *Polias*, they keep at a distance from one another, that they may not be suspected. There is no doubt they Convert very many ; but abundance<sup>64</sup> of them not being us'd to that Hardship, fall into dangerous Distempers.

Of all the Tribes here mention'd, only the *Brachmans* and *Banians* are so Precise<sup>65</sup> about killing of all Creatures ;<sup>66</sup> that even those that are Venemous may Bite them without receiving any Harm from them ; but the others<sup>67</sup> in this Case kill them.

*Jogis.*

The *Jogis* are People of all Tribes, who have impos'd on themselves a most painful sort of penitent Life. Besides, being continually Naked, some of them hold up their Arms in the Air, without ever letting them down ; others hold them behind, till in time they cannot move them. Some hang themselves up with Ropes ; others close their Mouths with Padlocks, so that they must be fed<sup>68</sup> with Liquids ; others run an Iron-Ring through their Prepuce, and hang a little Bell to it ; which, when the silly barren Women hear, they run to see, and touch him, hoping by that means to become Fruitful.

The Gentils pay so great a Respect to these Penitents, that they think themselves happy, who can Prostitute Daughters, Sisters, or Kins-women to their Leudness, which they believe lawful in them ;<sup>69</sup> and for this Reason there are so many Thousands of Vagabond *Fakirs* throughout *India*. When the *Fakirs* meet with *Baraghis*<sup>70</sup> (which is another sort of Penitents, differently habited, with their Hair and Beard shav'd) they Fight desperately. They never Marry, and Eat in the Houses of all Sects, except the *Polias*. They go into the Kitchen, and take what they will, tho' the Master be not at Home. They come together like Swine by beat of a Tabor, or at the blowing of a Horn, and march in Companies with Banners, Lances, and other Weapons, which, when they rest, they lay down by their Master. They Boast they are Descended from *Revanche-Ram*,<sup>71</sup> who wandred about the World Poor and Naked ; and these Vagabonds for imitating him, are look'd upon as Saints, and Live a loose Life, with the Priviledge of committing any Crime their Brutality suggests.

Now considering so great a Number of Sects, and such variety of Manners, which makes it Impracticable for them to be unanimous in Government, it is not to be thought strange that so small a Number of *Mahometans* should subdue such a Multitude of Gentils ; since Divisions and Discord have ever been the most efficient Causes in the World to overthrow the greatest Monarchies.<sup>72</sup>

# CHAPTER II

## OF THE OPINIONS AND SUPERSTITIONS OF THE IDOLATERS.

These Gentils are so blinded with profound Superstition, that they do not think it inconsistent to make their Gods be Born of Men, and Assign them Women ; believing they love the same Things Men delight in. They Esteem *Ram* a mighty Deity, on account of the Wonders he wrought whilst Living, by means of a Monkey,<sup>1</sup> which crossing the Sea at one Leap, Burnt *Rhevan's*<sup>2</sup> Palace, and Leap'd back again, to which purpose<sup>3</sup> they tell a long and tedious Fable. Among the Goddesses they count *Malachiche*,<sup>4</sup> who they say never refus'd any Body that ask'd it, the use of her Body ; as if<sup>4a</sup> she had perform'd some extraordinary Penance ; and so<sup>5</sup> a Man call'd *Cunsunu*,<sup>6</sup> because whilst he Liv'd he enjoy'd 16000 Women.

*Ram*, a Deity.

*Malachiche* Goddess.

*Cunsunu*.

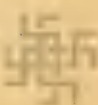
Some of them believe there are *Elisian* Fields, and that in order to come thither, a River<sup>7</sup> is to be pass'd like the *Styx*<sup>8</sup> of the Antients, where they are to receive new Bodies. Others are of Opinion the World will end very soon, after which they shall Live again, and go into a new Country. They all believe there is but one God, who has 1000 Arms, 1000 Eyes, and as many Feet ;<sup>9</sup> not knowing any better way how to Explain the Thoughts of his Omnipotency. They say they have four Books<sup>10</sup> sent them by God, above 6000 Years since, through the Hands of their Prophet *Ram* ; two of which Books are shut, and two open ; but that they can only be Read by those of their Religion. Besides,<sup>11</sup> that there are seven Heavens,<sup>12</sup> in the highest of which God sits ; and that he does not take Notice of the particular Actions of Men, because they are not worthy to be the Object of his Divine Thoughts. They also say there is a Place where he may be seen, as it were through a far distant Cloud. As for Evil Spirits they believe they are so chain'd up, that they can do them no Harm.

Opinions concerning one God.

They Talk of a Man call'd *Adam*,<sup>13</sup> who was the first and common Father, and they say that his Wife, having yielded to the Temptation of Eating of the forbidden Fruit, made her Husband Eat too ; but that as the Mouthful he took was going down, the Hand of God stopp'd its passing further, and thence comes the Knot Men have in their Throat, which they therefore call *Adam's Apple*.<sup>14</sup>

*Adam*.

The Priesthood among them is Hereditary, as it was formerly among the *Jews* ; for, as was said before, when a *Brachman* Marries, he must take the Daughter of another *Brachman*. They are distinguishable from all other Gentils, by a String or Rope made of three Threads of new Cotton,<sup>15</sup> which they wear hanging about their Neck, and wound about<sup>16</sup> the





left Arm. It is put upon Boys of Nine, or Ten Years of Age with great Solemnity, but never upon Girls. This String or Line is to signify the Unity of God in three Persons, which they call *Brama*, *Vistu*, and *Mayessu*.<sup>17</sup> They will never Eat a Bit without they have it on ;<sup>18</sup> and some of them have been known to Fast several Days,<sup>19</sup> because their Rope broke before they could get another of<sup>20</sup> the Priests.

Brachmans  
how  
expell'd.

When any one is to be Expell'd the Tribe of the *Brachmans*, *Banians*, or *Bangasclines*, for some heinous Crime, they take away his Line thus. All that are of the Tribe in that Place meet before the *Boto*,<sup>21</sup> or Priest, and accuse the Criminal of such a Crime. He replies, and if his Defence be not good, the *Boto* takes away his Line, wipes off the *Tilla*,<sup>22</sup> or Colour on his Forehead. Then all the Company falls to chewing of *Betelle*, eating of *Coco-Nuts*, and smoaking *Tabacco*, without giving the Criminal any ; only out of Pity they throw him down on the Ground a Leaf of *Tabacco*.

How  
receiv'd  
again.

If he desires to be again admitted into the Tribe, he must go from House to House, begging Pardon and Absolution of those that Voted, making them sensible of his Resignation, and soothing the *Boto* with the Present of a Cow. This done, he gives all the Tribe a Treat, who receive him again,<sup>23</sup> and the Priest gives him the Line and *Tilla*.

Gentils  
will not Eat  
with others.

All the Sects of *Gentils* on this side *Ganges*, are very scrupulous as to Eating with Christians, and *Mahometans*, or making use of the same Utensils. But those beyond *Malaca* make no Difficulty<sup>24</sup> of it.

A foolish  
Opinion of  
theirs.

They are so Silly, or Ignorant as to conceit<sup>25</sup> a Woman may Conceive by strength of Imagination ; and that tho' they are many thousand Miles distant, and that for several Years, yet their Wives imagining they Lie with them, may become with Child, and therefore when they hear of their being brought to Bed, they make great Rejoycing.

A pleasant  
Passage.

To this purpose, *F. Galli*, Prefect of the *Theatins* of *Goa*, told me a pleasant Story. *D. Francis de Tavora*, Earl of *Alvor*, arriving from *Portugal*, to be Vice-Roy of *India* ; News was brought that his Wife, whom he left big with Child, was deliver'd of a Son. Among the rest a *Pagan Merchant* went to Congratulate him, and thinking to make the Vice-Roy a great Complement said, *I wish your Excellency Joy, and hope you will have News every Year of the Birth of a Son*. This would have put him in a Passion, had not some told him that the Idolaters held that preposterous Opinion. The Women are Happy, that can take their Liberty, and make their silly Husbands believe they Conceive'd by thinking on them.

Dying  
Men.

When an Idolater is Dying, his Kindred place a Cow near the Bed, and shake her Tail till she Pisses ; if it reaches the Dying Man's Face, it is look'd upon as a good Token of his

future State ; otherwise, but particularly if the Beast does not  
Piss, the Obsequies are perform'd in a very Melancholy manner.  
Besides, they put the Cow's Tail into the Dying Man's Hand,<sup>26</sup>  
thinking his Soul may go into her Body. In short, they believe  
every Man may be sav'd in his Religion, and his Sect, so he  
exactly observe God's Commandments, and the Light of  
Reason ; which Judgment, tho' False, some Divines would  
follow, were it not condemn'd by the Church.

The Trial upon suspicion of Theft among them, is by Trial of Theft.  
making the Party swim over a River that is full of Crocodils,  
and if he gets over safe, he is reputed not Guilty. The *Naires*  
call this the Passage of Crocodils.<sup>27</sup>

These *Naires* are great Wizards, nor do they ever Expose *Naires*  
*Sorcerers.*  
themselves to any Feats of Arms, without first consulting the  
Devil. To this purpose they let their Hair fly, and draw some  
Blood out of their Forehead with a Knife ; then Dancing to  
the Musick of a Drum, they call him aloud, and he comes to  
Advise them whether they had best engage their Enemy. But  
when the Enemy repents he gave the Challenge, and makes a  
Sign to beg Peace, they easily grant it.

Their Women are in Common. When any of them is with Women in Common.  
her, he leaves his Sword and Buckler at the Door, that every  
Body may know the Place is taken up ;<sup>27a</sup> and therefore there  
being no certainty whose the Children are, they alter the  
manner of Inheritance, as was said before. But if the Women  
are found to have to do with Men of another Sect, they become  
Slaves to their Queen of *Canara*. When a Brother Marries, his  
Wife is Common to the rest.<sup>28</sup>

By a Privilege granted them by their Queen, they accom- Security for Travellers.  
pany Travellers through those Parts that are infested with  
Robbers, and if they happen to presume to Rob any Man, they  
all Meet, and Pursue the Felons till they utterly Extirpate them.  
Thus one Boy with a Rod in his Hand makes it safe Travelling  
throughout all *Canara*, tho' it be through Woods, and over  
Mountains ; and a Traveller for a small Matter may have one  
from one Village to another.

The Superstition of all the *Gentils* in *India*, makes them Barbarity to Infants.  
Murderers of their own Children ;<sup>29</sup> for it is their Custom when  
the Infant will not Suck, to carry it into the Field ; and there  
they leave it from Morning till Night, in a Cloth ty'd up on  
high by the four Corners, that the Crows may peck its Eyes  
out, and this is the Reason why there are so many Blind in  
Bengala. Where there are Monkeys, the Danger is not so great,  
because they being Enemies to the Crows throw all their Eggs  
down from the Trees, and hinder their Multiplying. At Night  
the Infant is carry'd Home, and if he will not Suck is expos'd  
a second, and third time in the Field, and at last hated as if  
it were some Snake, or Adder, and cast into the River.



## CHAPTER III

## OF SEVERAL PAGODS OF THE GENTILS.

Variety of  
Idols.

In all the Temples or *Pagods* of these Idolaters, which for the most part are Round, there are Figures of Devils, Serpents, Monkeys, and several<sup>1</sup> Monsters hideous to behold. In the Villages, where there are not Carvers to cut them, they take a Stone shap'd like a Cilinder, or small Pillar, colour'd Black, and placing it on a Column, adore it instead of an Idol, offering to it Sacrifice of *Belle*, *Arecca*, and other Things; as I observ'd in Travelling over dismal Mountains,<sup>2</sup> where the Country People had made Choice, some of a Stone,<sup>3</sup> others of a Tree,<sup>4</sup> and some of an Herb<sup>5</sup> for their Idol.

First great  
Place of  
Pilgrimage.

The chief *Pagods*, to which they go in Pilgrimage are four; *Giagrane*,<sup>6</sup> *Benarus*, *Matura* and *Tripeti*.<sup>7</sup> That of *Giagrane*, is upon one of the Mouths of the River *Ganges*, where the Great *Brachman*, or High Priest resides. There they adore the great Idol *Kesora*,<sup>8</sup> adorn'd with many Jewels. Its Revenues maintain all that vast Multitude of Pilgrims that Resort thither, on account of the Conveniency of the River *Ganges*, washing in whose Water they think cleanses them from Sin more than any other.<sup>9</sup>

Second  
Pilgrimage.

The *Pagod* of *Benarus* is Built on the Bank of *Ganges*, in the City of the same Name, and there is a Stair-case from the Door of it down to that River, to wash or Drink. The Vagabond *Fakirs* carry on their Backs Vessels full of this Water, stopp'd and seal'd by the Great *Brachman*, to prevent all Frauds, for several hundreds of Miles, to be well Paid for it by rich People and Merchants they Present it to. At Weddings they spend the Value of 500 Crowns of it, or more, it being the Custom to give a Glass or two of it about after Dinner; which they drink with as great a Gust, as we should do some rich Muscadine, or Hippocrass. The Idol is call'd *Bainmadu*,<sup>10</sup> held in such Honour by the *Gentils*, that as soon as the *Pagod* is open'd, the *Brachmans* fall flat on their Faces; and some with vast great Fans go to drive the Flies from about the Idol. A *Brachman* Marks the Forehead of all the Pilgrims with a yellow Liquor. No Women may go into it, but only those of one certain Tribe. There is another *Pagod* near it call'd *Riscurdas*,<sup>11</sup> from the name of the Idol adorn'd there.

Third  
Pilgrimage.

The *Pagod* of *Matura* is 35 Miles from *Agra*, on the Road to Dehli. Within it is a Place hemm'd in with Marble Bannisters,<sup>12</sup> with the Idol *Ram*<sup>13</sup> in the middle, and two others by him; and both within and without abundance of Monsters, some with four Arms, and some with four Legs; and others with a Man's Head, and a long Tail.<sup>14</sup> They carry this Idol upon solemn Festivals on a Bier, to visit the other Gods, or the River.

The fourth *Pagod*, is that of *Tripeti*,<sup>15</sup> in the Province of *Carnatica*, on the Coast of *Cormandel*, and Cape *Comori*; it is remarkable for the many Buildings and Pools about it. Fourth Pilgrimage.

In the Kingdom of *Bisnaga*,<sup>16</sup> there is a *Pagod* with 300 Marble Pillars in it.<sup>17</sup> A Portuguese Gentleman, who had liv'd forty Years in *India*, and was an Eye Witness to it, told me, they formerly laid out 10000 *Roupies* there every Year, in making a Cart with eighteen Wheels, on which, when the Festival of the Idol was kept, the *Brachmans* mounted with 200 impudent Women Dancers, skipping in Honour of the Idol.<sup>18</sup> The Cart was drawn by 500 Men, and some Idolaters, believing that Death the direct Road to Heaven, threw themselves under the Wheels, and were crush'd to Pieces. Besides, that when the King of *Golconda* Possess'd himself of that Country, under the Conduct of the General *Emir Gemla*, he found in that Temple an infinite Number of Gold Vessels, and three Diamonds of an inestimable Value; one of which the said *Emir Gemla*<sup>19</sup> presented to the Great *Mogul*,<sup>20</sup> and that this General advancing into the Country of the *Naiche* of *Tanjaur*,<sup>21</sup> a *Gentil*, and taking the City of that Name, Thousands of Women threw themselves into Wells on account of Religion. Bisnaga Pagod.

He told me further, That near the Island of *Ceylon*, there is another small Island call'd *Ramanacor*,<sup>22</sup> with a *Pagod* of the same Name; at the Entrance whereof is a Trough of black Stone, and in it a Statue of Metal, with the Eyes made of Rubies; and that the *Gentils* break over it *Coco-Nuts* full of Water; and lay Figs there, to Eat them afterwards, as if they were Sanctify'd, and Drink that Water, as Holy. Within the further part of this *Pagod*, is another which they open once a Year; and there they adore a Brazen Idol call'd *Lingon*,<sup>23</sup> which is a very lewd Figure, the Parts of Man and Woman appearing join'd together. Some *Gentils* wear it hanging about their Necks, out of Devotion, as the God of Nature. Ramanacor Pagod.

All the *Gentils* are oblig'd to go once in their Life, at least, in Pilgrimage, to one of the four Principal *Pagods*; but the rich go several times, carry the Idols of their Places of Abode in Procession, attended by Hundreds of People, and *Brachmans*; who, with long Fans made of Peacock's Feathers, drive away the Flies from the Idol lying on the Bier. Manner of going in Pilgrimage.

Three Days before an Eclipse<sup>24</sup> happens, the *Brachmans* having Notice of it, break all the Earthen Vessels,<sup>25</sup> to use new Ones afterwards; and run all of them to the River to boil Rice, and other Things, and throw it in for the Fishes, and Crocodils, when they find the fortunate Hour is come, by their Magical Books,<sup>26</sup> and several Figures they make on the Ground with the Noise of Drums, and Latten<sup>27</sup> Plates they beat. They cast themselves into the River to Wash whilst the Eclipse lasts; the *Brachmans*<sup>28</sup> attend the richest Persons with clean Cloths Superstitions at the Eclipse.

to dry them, and then make them sit down on a piece of Structure six Spans square, daub'd all about with liquid Cows Dung, that the Pismires may not run upon it in danger of being Burnt, whilst they Dress the Rice, and other Pulse. They cover several Figures made with Powder'd Lime, on that Square with the same Dung, and then lay on two or three small Sticks of Wood to burn several Blades of Grain, with a great deal of Butter ; and from the Manner of the Flame to judge what plenty of Rice, and other Corn<sup>29</sup> that Year will afford.

*Divalis*, or  
Festivals.

Sorcerers.

The chief *Divalis*, or Festivals are two,<sup>30</sup> when the Moon decreases in *October*, and when she increases in *March*. All those Heathen Sorcerers work Wonders by the help of the Devil, but particularly their Juglers and Tumblers, who, without all doubt, deceive the Eye. They plant the Stone of any<sup>31</sup> Fruit, and within two Hours the Tree grows up, Blossoms, and bears ripe Fruit.<sup>32</sup> Others lay the Eggs under the Hen, and Hatch them at the same time ; which can be nothing but meer illusion. But I never saw it.

*Pagan*  
Kings.

The Princes of *Asia* that are Idolaters, are the Kings of *Cochinchina*, *Tunkin*, *Arachan*, *Pegu*, *Siam*, *China*, and several *Chams* in great *Tartary* ; in the Islands the King of *Japan*, and *Ceylon*, and some Royetelets<sup>33</sup> of the *Molucco* Islands ; as also all the *Rajas* in the *Mogul's* Empire, but of several Sects, some less Superstitious than Others.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE AUTHOR CONTINUES THE ACCOUNT OF WHAT HE SAW IN THE CAMP OF GALGALA.

Having desir'd a Christian Captain of *Agra*, to let me know when an Opportunity<sup>1</sup> offer'd of seeing the King of *Visapor*, he sent on *Tuesday* the 22d of *March*, to appoint me to be at his Tent in the Morning,<sup>2</sup> that we might go together to the King's Quarters to satisfy my Curiosity. I went accordingly,<sup>3</sup> and he being ready, we both set out. Being come to the King's Tents, we waited for him to Pass by, to go pay his Respects to the *Great Mogul*. In short, within an Hour<sup>4</sup> I saw the unhappy King, whose Name was *Sikander*,<sup>5</sup> come with a handsome Retinue. He was a sprightly Youth 29 Years of Age,<sup>6</sup> of a good Stature, and Olive colour'd Complexion. *Aurenge Zeb* depriv'd him of his Liberty and Kingdom, as he did him of *Golconda*, in the Year 1685,<sup>7</sup> upon Pretence that he had given *Savagi* Passage through his Country, which he could not have hindred, if he would. The true Original of the King of *Visapor's* Misfortunes was, That the Queen being left a Widow, and without Children,

Original of  
the King of  
*Visapor's*  
Misfor-  
tunes.

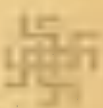


*Savagi*, who was offended at the King Deceas'd, for having caus'd his Father *Nair Savagi*,<sup>8</sup> then Captain of the Guards to Die in a Goal, took the Field with a small Army of Scoundrels ; and soon made himself Master of the Fortresses of *Rajapor*, *Rasigar*, *Crapaten*, *Dabul*,<sup>9</sup> and part of *Malabar*. Some think that raising<sup>10</sup> the Fortifications of *Rasigar*, he there found a great Treasure,<sup>11</sup> which enabled him to continue the War. The Queen finding her self in that Condition, thought it convenient during the Minority of *Sikandar*, whom she had adopted for her Son,<sup>12</sup> and bred up in the Doctrin of *Hali*, before the King's Death, to make a Peace, tho' Dishonourable, leaving to *Savagi*, the Country he had Conquer'd yet to hold of her,<sup>13</sup> and to pay half the Revenue as Tribute.

At the same time *Pamniach*,<sup>14</sup> who was Tributary to the same Crown, took up Arms to shake off that Yoke ; relying on the natural Strength of his Country, lying between 27 in accessible Mountains, call'd *Settais-pale*,<sup>15</sup> among which there are Villages, and Lands Till'd by *Gentils* of the vile Tribe of *Faras*.<sup>16</sup> *Aurenge-Zeb* seeing the Forces of the Kingdom, amounting to 30000 Horse, and as many Foot, employ'd against these Rebels, he laid hold of the Opportunity, and Besieg'd the City and Castle of *Visapor* ; which he took after a vigorous Defence of three Years, made by *Sidi Mansutu*, a Black, who govern'd during the King's Minority, and carry'd away *Sikandar* Prisoner, to whom he afterwards allow'd a Million of *Roupies* a Year, to maintain him Decently.

*Tanascia*,<sup>18</sup> King of *Golconda*, who, in my Time was sixty Years of Age, had the same Misfortune. His General *Emir Gemla* being Disgusted,<sup>19</sup> invited *Aurenge Zeb* to invade the Kingdom through his means. The Ambitious *Mogul* hasted thither, but notwithstanding his Intelligence with the Traitor, could not compass his Design ; and was forc'd to return to his Country<sup>20</sup> with Dishonour. He afterwards again attempted the Fortress of *Golconda*, but the Besieg'd making a resolute Defence, and an Army of 70000 Horse, and as many Foot keeping *Aurenge-Zeb*'s Army in the Field within Bounds ; both Sides thought fit to conclude a Peace on this Condition, that *Mahmud*,<sup>21</sup> Son to *Aurenge-Zeb*, should take the King of *Golconda*'s Daughter to Wife, and receive the Kingdom as a Portion,<sup>22</sup> after the Father's Death.

When the War with *Akbar*<sup>23</sup> was concluded, *Scialam* was sent<sup>24</sup> with a powerful Army, to Attack *Golconda* a-new ; but he either thinking the Conquest difficult, or overcome by *Tanascia*'s Promises, to give him his Daughter in Marriage, and Assist him to secure his Father's Throne ; so manag'd Affairs, that he obtain'd his Father's Consent to settle Peace, and tho' afterwards he receiv'd never so many repeated Commands, could never be prevail'd on to return to the Siege, but



casting his Scimiter at his Feet, told him, He was a *Musulman*, and could not break the Peace he had Promis'd to keep.<sup>25</sup>

*Scialam* thus refusing, *Aurenge-Zeb* march'd in Person, after he had Conquer'd the Kingdom of *Visapor*, with a mighty Army to Besiege *Golconda*.<sup>26</sup> At his first coming, he secur'd the Pass on the River, and *Bagnagor*,<sup>27</sup> where the Palace was, and then without staying to Fortify it, by the Advice of the *Franks* he had in his Service, who gave me this Relation, he went on to Besiege the Fortress, whither the King was retir'd This being Built with vast great Stones,<sup>28</sup> and encompass'd with a deep Ditch, held out a Siege of nine Months,<sup>29</sup> tho' Batter'd by many Pieces of Cannon, and particularly by three Pieces of such a prodigious Bigness, that each of them was drawn by 500 Elephants, and 200 Oxen, if we may believe what the Soldiers told me ; for they could make but a small Breach in a Fort that was not enclos'd with Walls, but with a Rock. At length, want of Provisions, and Distempers that rag'd in the Place, besides the Presents and Promises *Aurenge-Zeb* made, did not only prevail with the Defendants to Desert to him by degrees, letting themselves down from the Wall with Ropes in the Night, but corrupted the Governour, who surrendered the Fortress against the King's Will ; he offering to pay a 'Tribute of three Millions, and 700000 *Roupies*, which *Aurenge-Zeb* refus'd, entring the Place Victorious in the Year 1686. *Azamscia* carry'd away the King Prisoner, who having a Collar of inestimable Value on, presented it to him ; but his Father *Aurenge-Zeb* perceiving he carry'd him on an Elephant, cry'd out to him, because he had not Bound his Hands behind him. The Son answer'd, that he<sup>30</sup> was a King, and he ought to be satisfy'd with depriving him of his Kingdom and Liberty.<sup>31</sup> Having shut him up in the Fort of *Dolet-Abad*, the *Mogul* allow'd him a wretched maintenance of 20 *Roupies* a day ; but a Son being Born to him in Prison, which he never had whilst on his Throne, in pitty to the Infant Born at such an unfortunate time, he rais'd his allowance to 500 *Roupies* a day.

*Pannaich*,<sup>32</sup> who had with considerable Forces assisted the *Mogul* in Conquering the Kingdom,<sup>33</sup> was rewarded with death, upon very slight jealousies ; which enraging his Son, he refus'd to pay the 'Tribute, and retir'd among inaccessible Mountains ; but a few years after, the greater Power prevailing, he submitted to Pay 'Tribute, and receive a Governour appointed by the *Mogul* into his Dominions.

Wednesday 23d, I din'd with the Captain of *Agra*, who treated me very handsomly, after the Country manner. Thursday 24th, I was conducted to a Neighbouring *Pagod*, to see a Penitent, who held up his Arms, the Joints being hardned, or knit together so that he had no use of them. Friday 25th, I look'd out for some Company to go back with me to *Goa*,

because the *Begarian* of St. *Stephen* and my Interpreter were both fled ; but could find none. I spent my time<sup>34</sup> in vain on *Saturday*, also seeking for Company.

## CHAPTER V

### THE AUTHOR'S RETURN TO GOA, THE SAME WAY HE CAME.

The Season was now so far advanc'd that to spend any more time at *Galgala* would have made me Slip the opportunity of going over to *China* ; therefore bearing patiently with my Indian's running away, I made the best of it, and resolv'd to venture all alone thro' a Country invested with Robbers and Enemies of Christianity. Having heard Mass on *Sunday* 27th, I mounted but very Melancholy ; and believing when I came at Night to *Edoar*,<sup>2</sup> I should find the *Caravan* of Oxen for *Bardes*, or some Christian of *Goa*, was disappointed of both. Setting out hence on *Monday* 28th, I came before Noon to the Village to *Rodelki* ;<sup>3</sup> where desiring a *Gentil* by signs to make me a Cake of Bread, the Knave instead of Wheaten Flower made it of *Machini*,<sup>4</sup> which is a black Seed, that makes a Man giddy, and so ill tasted, that a Dog would not eat it. Whilst it was hot necessity<sup>5</sup> made me eat that Bread of Sorrow ; but could not swallow it cold, tho' I had none<sup>6</sup> for three days, At Night I lay near the *Pagod* of *Mandapour*.<sup>7</sup>

*Tuesday* 29th, meeting the *Caravan* of Oxen beyond *Onor*, I travel'd with it till Sun-set ; but being necessitated<sup>8</sup> to alight, and the *Caravan* going on, I lost sight of it, the Night growing dark. Then being left alone in the open Field, without anything to eat, or place to take shelter, and in much dread of Robbers, I lay'd me down<sup>9</sup> among the Bushes.

*Wednesday* 30th, when day appear'd, I went on alone *Beligon* without any knowledge of the Road, but what the track of the City. Oxen show'd, and come betimes to *Beligon*.<sup>10</sup> This City tho' made up of Mud Houses thatch'd, is<sup>11</sup> very Populous, because of its Trade. It has a large *Bazar* and a good Fort, considering it belongs to *Moors*, all built of Stone, and encompass'd with a deep ditch full of Water ; but it has little Canon in proportion to its bigness, and Garrison. Here I expected to have found the *Caravan* of Oxen belonging to S. *Stephen*, or at least to hear some News of it ; but no Body understanding me, I was disappointed. *Thursday* the last of the Month, a *Moor* conceiving<sup>12</sup> what I could not express, conducted me to *Sciapour*,<sup>13</sup> a Mile thence, where I found the *Caravan*, ready to set out for *Bardes* : The *Canarines* belonging to it, who were subjects to



*Portugal* show'd me a great deal of kindness ; and finding I was spent with three days want,<sup>14</sup> plentifully provided me with Foul and Rice ; but could get no Bread, because the Natives do not eat any. The worst of it was, I must set out with them immediately, and tho' a *Canarin* help'd to hold me a Horseback, because of my Weakness, yet it went very hard with me. That Night we lay in a Wood near the Village of *Jambot*,<sup>15</sup> belonging to a *Say*<sup>16</sup> or Prince of the same name ; the *Mogul* permitting some Lords to Possess these Barren Countries for a yearly Tribute.

*Friday* the first of *April*, after a few hours riding we pass'd by some Cottages, where were the Officers of the Custom-house and Guards of the Roads, who are worse than Thieves. That Night we lay on the Mountain, near some little Huts of the Country People ; of whom I could not buy a Chicken, or any thing else to support me.

*Saturday* 2d, we went down the steep and tedious Mountain of *Balagati*, and travell'd all day through *Savagi's* Country. The Guards, who like *Banditti* lay skulking about the Woods, stopp'd me, and by signs ask'd whether I could Shoot out of a Musket, or understood the Art of Gunnery ; and answering by signs that I did not, they at last let me go, fearing the *Portuguese* should<sup>17</sup> stop their People at *Goa*, because I pass'd for a *Portuguese*. Having travel'd a few Miles further, we lay in the Field, and had an ill Night of it, near a Lake.

*Sunday* 3d, being *Easter-day*, after several hours Travelling, we pass'd by the *Mogul's* Guards and Custom-house. There I was again detain'd ; not because they had any need of Gunners or Souldiers, but to make me pay Toll like a Beast ; at length some Idolaters telling them, the *Portuguese*, who were but a Musket shot from thence would do the same,<sup>18</sup> they let me go.

I went away to *Tivi*,<sup>19</sup> and thence to Fort S. *Michael*,<sup>20</sup> where the Castellan and his Wife perceiving I was sick, would not suffer me to go any further ; but by all means would have me be their Guest ; sending away immediately to *Pumberpa*,<sup>21</sup> a Farm of the *Theatins* for a *Ballon*, or *Andora* to carry me to *Goa*.

As the *Ballon* or Boat was coming,<sup>22</sup> an unmannerly *Portuguese* Souldier carry'd it away by force, and there being no *Andora* to be had, returning thanks to the Captain and his Wife, for the favour they had shew'd me, I desir'd them to order a Souldier to bear me Company to the aforesaid Farm. They were much displeas'd at the *Portuguese* rudeness,<sup>23</sup> and caus'd his Captain to punish him, and perceiving I would stay no longer with them, sent a Souldier of the Castle to convoy me ;<sup>24</sup> who brought me to *Pumburpa* on *Monday* the 4th at

Sun-setting. Here I was very lovingly receiv'd by the Factor, who gave me a good Supper, and after it an easy<sup>25</sup> Bed to rest me.

Tuesday 5th, I cross'd the Canal<sup>26</sup> in a *Ballon* or Boat, and return'd to *Goa* to the aforemention'd Monastery of Fathers in a very ill condition. The Father *Prefect* seeing me so sick, told me that had happned<sup>27</sup> because I would not take his advice; I answer'd *Heu Patior telis vulnera facta meis*.<sup>28</sup> Both he and *F. Hippolitus* endeavour'd to recover me with good Fouls, to which the best Sauce was their kindness; and thus I recover'd my flitting<sup>29</sup> Spirits. Weakness oblig'd me on Wednesday 6th to hire four *Boes*, or Porters to carry me in an *Andora*, to see what remain'd worth observing in *Goa*. They were all four satisfy'd with 15 *Pardaos*, which are worth six Crowns of *Naples* a Month.

Thursday 7th, I went to visit the Body of *S. Francis Xavierius*, at the Church of *Bon-Jesu*, or Good Jesus,<sup>30</sup> being *S. Francis Xavierius's* the profess'd House of the *Jesuits*. The Church is indifferent<sup>31</sup> large and Arch'd, but has nothing of good Architecture,<sup>32</sup> being more like a great Hall than a Church. It has an high Altar, with two on the sides all well Gilt; and on the left a Chappel where the precious Body of *S. Francis* lies. It was in a Crystal Coffin, within another of Silver, on a Pedestal of Stone; but they expected a noble Tomb of Porphyry Stone, from *Florence*, order'd to be made by the Great Duke. Since, with the Pope's leave, the Saints Arm was cut off, the rest of the Body has decay'd, as if he had resented it; and therefore the *Jesuits* for nine Years<sup>33</sup> past, do not shew it to any but the Vice-roy, and some other Persons of Quality. Being told as much at my first coming to *Goa*, I so far prevail'd, as to have the Vice-roy use his Power with the Provincial; and he not knowing how to refuse him, would at least defer the favour till that Morning; shewing me the Holy Body, with the Church shut, cloath'd in its Habit, which is chang'd every Year.

Friday 8th, I went to see the Church of the *Italian Carmelites*,<sup>34</sup> on a pleasant Hill. Tho' small, it is very Bautiful, and Arch'd as are all the Churches in *India*, with 6 Chappels, and an high Altar, well Gilt. The Monastery is handsome and well contriv'd,<sup>35</sup> with excellent Cloisters and Cells, and a delicious Garden, in which there are *Chinese* Palm-trees which yield a pleasing shade, with their low and thick Leaves. There are also two Cinnamon Trees, like that of *Ceylon*. At present it is decay'd from what it was, before the *Italian* Fathers were confin'd by the King's Order, because only one *Portuguese* Father cannot take so much Pains. The first<sup>36</sup> had been again receiv'd into Favour, but four of them Dy'd at Sea, coming from *Portugal*.

*Saturday* 9th, there being some Apprehension of the coming of *Arabian* Ships, all the Religious Men and Priests went down arm'd by Order of the Archbishop to the Fort of *Aguada*, to make good that Pass among the Soldiers.<sup>37</sup>

*Sunday* 10th, I went to pay my Respects to the Vice-Roy, who receiv'd me very Courteously, and Discours'd with me in *French* about two Hours, about News from *Europe* and *Asia*, and when I took my Leave made me very civil Offers.<sup>38</sup>

*Monday* 11th, the Commadore, a small Vessel, and a Fireship Sail'd out of the Harbour for the Gulph of *Persia*, to assist the King of *Persia* against the *Iman*<sup>39</sup> of *Mascat*; who, with five Ships had Burnt the *Portuguese* Factory,<sup>40</sup> and several Houses; robb'd the Custom-House, and carry'd away four Pieces of Cannon there were in the Fort, with the Arms of *Spain* on them, brought thither from *Ormus*. The King of *Persia* had then 90000 Men ready to send into *Arabia Foelix*, against the *Iman*.

Vice-Roys  
Palaces.

There are three Palaces at *Goa*, for the use of the Vice-Roy. The chief of them, call'd the Fort,<sup>41</sup> near the Church of the *Theatins*, and *Vasco de Gama's* Gate, has the Prospect of the Channel, and consists of excellent Apartments, and a Royal Chappel. In the Hall of it are the Pictures<sup>42</sup> of all the Vice-Roys, and Governours of *India*, and in another all the Ships and Vessels<sup>43</sup> that ever came out of *Portugal*, since the first Discovery of those Countries. In the same are kept the Courts of Judicature, or<sup>44</sup> Exchequer, and others, and they Coin Mony,<sup>45</sup> such as *Pardaos* of Silver, and *St. Thomases*,<sup>46</sup> and *Pardaos* of Gold. The small Mony is made of a Metal brought from *China*, which is neither Copper, nor Latten,<sup>47</sup> nor Lead, nor Pewter;<sup>48</sup> but a Substance differing from them all, not known in *Europe*, and call'd *Tutunaga*,<sup>49</sup> which they say has some mixture of Silver. The *Chineses* use it to make great Guns, mixing it with Brass.<sup>50</sup> Of this, as was said, they make a very low sort of Coin at *Goa*, call'd *Bazaruccos*,<sup>51</sup> 375 whereof make a *Pardao*, whose Value is four *Carlines* of *Naples*; and yet any small Matter,<sup>52</sup> or Fruit may be Bought for one of these.

Coins.

The Vice-Roys do not Live in the aforesaid Palace, because of the ill Air, but in that call'd *Polvereira*, or the Powder-House, two Miles from it, at the Entrance of the City, as was said elsewhere.<sup>53</sup> Being at first design'd to make Powder in, it was not then fit to entertain a Vice-Roy; but has been enlarg'd by degrees. The third is the Fort of *Pangi*, near the Fort of *Gaspar Diaz*. The Vice-Roys have not Liv'd in it for many Years past, and at present the Garrison Soldiers are Quarter'd in it.

*Tuesday* 12th, News was brought of the loss of a Ship of the *Portuguese* Fleet,<sup>54</sup> which had run upon some Rocks in the Port of *Varsava*. My *Armenian* Servant being Indispos'd,



I Purg'd him with the excellent *Rhubarb* I Bought in *Persia*, where the best in the World grows, and he was soon well.

*Wednesday* 13th, I went with the Fathers to Divert me at<sup>55</sup> the Farm of *Pumburpa*, and *Thursday* 14th, enjoy'd the good Company of some Friends that came thither from *Goa*. *Friday* 15th, we went a walking in the Noviciate of the Fathers of the Society, opposite to the said Country House. Walking there on *Saturday* 16th, I pitty'd so many poor Christians and Idolaters, who Live in wretched Cottages under the Coco-Trees, to make them Fruitful, Man's Breath helping them to bear ; without hopes of ever removing with their Family from the Place where they are Born, because if they go to another place, their Masters bring them back by force, worse than if they were Slaves. *Sunday* 17th, after Dinner, we went to see a Farm of the *Augustinians* close by, where an ingenious Father<sup>56</sup> had Built a good House, and Furnish'd it handsomly.

*Monday* 18th, we went a Fishing on the Channel, which does not only abound in all other sorts,<sup>57</sup> but several kinds of Shell Fish, and particularly Oisters,<sup>58</sup> so large that the very Fish of some of them weighs half a Pound ; but they are not so well tasted as ours. The *Portuguese* use the Shells in their Windows instead of Glass, making them thin, and Transparent.<sup>59</sup> *Tuesday* 19th, after Dinner, we return'd to *Goa*.

*Wednesday* 20th, two Vessels from *Macao*, Loaded with *Our Lady* *Chinese* Commodities arriv'd in the Port ; and *Thursday* 21st, of the Cape. I went Aboard one of them, call'd the *Pumburpa*, to see several Rarities<sup>60</sup> it brought. *Friday* 22d, I went in an *Andora*, to Visit our *Lady del Cabo*, or of the Cape, standing on the point of the Island of *Goa*, where the *Franciscans* have a good Church and Monastery. Here Night overtaking me, I was forc'd to lie in the Monastery, and return'd to *Goa*, on *Saturday* 23d.

*Sunday* 24th, I heard Mass at the *Augustinians*, to visit my Friend and Fellow-Traveller for several Months *F. Francis of St. Joseph*. *Monday* 25th, I went over to Divert my self<sup>61</sup> to a little Country House, seated on the Island of *Bardes*, where on *Tuesday* 26th, I saw the Convoy of several Vessels return from *Canara*, with a good Stock of Rice, because the Islands of *Goa* do not produce enough. *Wednesday* 27th, I took the Air in a Boat upon the Channel.

*Thursday* 28th, was the Procession of *Corpus Christi*, which is made here with much Solemnity in *April*, because of the Storms, and great Rains in *June*.<sup>62</sup> Before it went a Soldier a Horse-back in bright Armour. Then follow'd an Image of *St. George* in Wood, about which some Persons in Masks Danc'd and after them six Canons, with six Silver Maces, and lastly, six Gentlemen carry'd the Canopy.

*Friday* 29th, I went to see a Lion brought the Vice-Roy<sup>63</sup> from *Mozambique*, who was about to send it as a Present to the

Emperor of *China*. And still continuing to Divert my self after my late Sufferings, on *Saturday*, the last of the Month I saw the Powder-House, where they were then actually making Powder.

*Sunday* the first of *May*, I went to the Cathedral to hear some indifferent Musick, on account of the Festival of *St. Philip* and *Jacob*; and *Monday* 2d, Din'd with *F. Francis*,<sup>64</sup> being invited by him, because the time of my Departure drew near. On *Tuesday* 3d, *F. Hippolitus Visconte* took care to Change what Mony I had into Pieces of Eight, because there is a great deal lost by carrying Gold into *China*; and a *Portuguese* Merchant well skill'd in that Trade, made a small Purchase of Diamonds for me, they being cheap at *Goa*. *Wednesday* 4th, I went with *F. Salvador Galli*, *F. Visconti*, and the General of *Salzette*, to speak to *Jerom Vasconcellos*, Captain of the Vessel call'd *The Holy Rosary*, bound for *China*. For their Sakes he undertook to carry me; but refusing to find me Provisions for my Mony, I was forc'd on *Thursday* 5th,<sup>65</sup> to lay in a Stock for so long a Voyage. *Friday* 6th, I went to the Church of the Miraculous Cross,<sup>66</sup> to beg of God a good Voyage, and *Saturday*, 7th diverted my self on the Channel. *Sunday* 8th, some Friends din'd with me, and *Monday* 9th, I din'd with *F. Francis*, and after drinking to my good Voyage, we took leave of one another with much Concern.<sup>67</sup> *Tuesday* 10th, I went to the Powder-House to pay my Respects to the Vice-Roy, and desire him to give me a Letter of Recommendation to the General of *China*. He granted it very Civilly, offering to do me any other Kindness.<sup>68</sup>

My *Armenian* Servant refusing to go to *China*, on *Wednesday* 11th, I Bought a *Cafre*, or Black Slave for eighteen Pieces of Eight, and there being a Necessity to get a License to Ship him off, because we were to touch at *Malaca*, where the *Dutch* Hereticks Command,<sup>69</sup> I went on *Thursday* 12th, to the Inquisitors to have it Pass'd. They made a great Difficulty of granting it, and dispensing with the Prohibition they themselves had been Authors of; alledging that some *Cafes*, who had been Shipp'd at other times, being taken, had turn'd *Mahometans*. *Friday* 13th, I took Leave of my Friends, the Vessel being already fallen down to the Mouth of the Channel,<sup>70</sup> in order to Sail very speedily; and *Saturday* 14th,<sup>71</sup> having return'd Thanks, and bid Adieu to the Fathers *Theatins*, I went Aboard with my Goods. There speaking to the Captain, to order my Equipage and Provisions to be taken Aboard, he order'd it to be deliver'd to the Master's Mate, for him to dispose of it as the Pilot should direct, he having undertaken to keep me by the way, I putting my Provision to his. This done, I return'd to the Farm of *Pumburpa*, to have the Satisfaction of lying Ashore one Night longer.

Sunday 15th, I went over to the Island *Charon*,<sup>72</sup> where the Novitiate of the *Jesuits* is, to hear Mass. Meeting there with some *Italian* Fathers, who were Bound for *China*, Aboard the same Vessel, they very Civilly shew'd me all the House. The Church is small, and has three Altars well Gilt; but the Sacristy has curious Chests of Drawers about<sup>73</sup> it made of *Indian* Wood, varnish'd, with the Apostles<sup>74</sup> painted on it. The House is small, and the Cells for thirty Novices very little. I din'd in the Farm of the *Augustinians*,<sup>75</sup> and lay that Night in that of the *Theatins*.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE AUTHOR'S VOYAGE TO MALACA.

Munday 16th, the Vessel being under Sail I went Aboard. Towards Evening came Aboard *F. Emanuel Ferreira*, a *Portuguese*, Missioner to *Tunchin*,<sup>1</sup> who wore a Reverend long Beard; *F. Joseph Condoni*, a *Sicilian*, going to his Mission of *Cochinchina*, which Fathers had been Summon'd to *Rome*, by his Holiness Pope *Innocent* the 11th,<sup>2</sup> because they had refus'd to Obey the *French* Bishops and Vicars Apostolick in those Kingdoms, to the great Scandal of the Christians, who saw the Church-Men Excommunicate one another, and eight other *Jesuits* of several Nations, who were<sup>3</sup> going to *China*; besides ten others who went in the Vessel of the Merchants of *Goa*, call'd *Pumburpa*, which carry'd the Lion above-mention'd.

The Fathers of the Society<sup>4</sup> are in such Esteem and Reputation in *India*, that at Night the Vice-Roy came to Visit those that were Aboard the two Ships, and stay'd still Midnight in these two Visits. Laying hold of this opportunity, he himself recommended me to the Captain, telling him, I was a curious Gentleman, that Travell'd only to see the World, and therefore he should use me well. His Recommendation had but little Effect, because the Captain, who was Bred in *China*, had quite forgot the *Portuguese* Civility, which in all places I found they Practis'd more towards me, than towards their own Country-Men; nor did he value another Man's Merit, or Qualifications. As soon as the Vice-Roy was gone they weigh'd Anchor, and the Vessels were tow'd by several *Paraos*,<sup>5</sup> which are long Boats with sixty Oars, and *Ballons*, which are smaller; the City Pilots being aboard, to carry the Vessels beyond the Flat, which is before the Fort of *Gaspar Diaz*, near which we lay all *Tuesday*, because the Wind blew hard.

*Wednesday* 18th, the same Wind continuing, and the City Pilots having no hopes it would fall, weigh'd Anchor two Hours



before Day, and began to have the Ships tow'd again by the *Ballons* and *Paraos*. But the Wind rising, to avoid the Rock, they both run<sup>6</sup> upon the Sand.<sup>7</sup> There being danger that the Ship might split at the Flood, it being then Ebb, every one endeavour'd to carry off his Goods, especially Mony, and to get it Ashore ; and it would go hard with the City Pilots, if once the Vessels were stranded, and they did not fly. I<sup>8</sup> put my Baggage Aboard a Coaster, and leaving my Slave with my Provisions, went to *Goa* for a new License from the Inquisition, to put the Black Aboard the Coaster, in case the Ships that were stranded should be rendred unfit to perform their Voyage ; which I got with some<sup>9</sup> Difficulty for the Reasons above alledg'd.

Whilst I was still at *Goa*, the Vice-Roy gathering abundance of *Paraos* and *Ballons*, went in Person to get off the Vessels with the Flood ; which being done, they came up again to take in as much Water as they had thrown over Board to lighten themselves. The honest Pilot, and Master's Mate of our Ship had also thrown over the Passengers Provision and Fruit ; but not their own, which afterwards they did Eat till they were ready to Crack.<sup>10</sup> Taking leave again of the Fathers *Galli* and *Visconti*, I return'd Aboard with my Baggage, but was not told they had thrown over Board three great Baskets of Wine<sup>11</sup> full of *Mangos*, for had I known it, I would have provided other Fruit.

We got not out on *Thursday* 19th, through the Fault<sup>12</sup> of the City Pilots ; but about break of Day, on *Friday* 20th, the Wind blowing fair at N.W. our Vessel call'd the *Rosary*, the *Pumburpa*, and four Coasters put out to Sea. The *Jesuits*, as they were the first that went off, so would they be the last to return Aboard. The same fair Wind continu'd *Saturday* 21st, and *Sunday* 22d.

*Monday* 23d, the Pilots by Observation found we were in the Latitude of *Cochin*. We had great Rains, and stormy Winds every Day and Night, but they did not last above an Hour. They call these Tempests *Sumatras*,<sup>13</sup> from the Island of that Name. Holding on our Course South on *Tuesday* 24th, the Pilots judg'd we were in the Latitude of Cape *Comori* ; which is like that of *Good Hope*. It is to be observ'd that in this Place they find a most unaccountable work of Nature ;<sup>14</sup> which is, that at the same time it is winter at *Goa*, and all along that Coast, it is Summer upon all the opposite Coast, as far as the Kingdom of *Golconda*, and thus in a few Hours they go from Winter to Summer ; which is experimentally known to be true every Day, by the Natives of *Madure*, *Tiar*, *Tanjaur*, *Ginge*, *Madrastapatan*,<sup>15</sup> the People of the *Naiches*, and other *Pagan* Princes.

*Wednesday* 25th, making an observation we found ourselves in the Latitude of Cape *Galli*<sup>16</sup> in the Island of *Ceylon*,

which was joyful News to all abroad, as being then sure they should continue their Voyage ; for had the South Wind started up before we reach'd that Place, we could have gone no further, but must have run away to Northward, as happen'd to two Ships of *China*, which set out in the Year 1693, and put in to refit after the Storm, the one at *Damam*, and the other at *Bombaim*. On the contrary being once in the Latitude of Cape *Galli*, no Wind could put us by our Voyage.<sup>17</sup> We were here according to the Pilots Computation 600 Miles from *Goa*.

The Island of *Ceylon* besides its rich Cinnamon, which *Ceylon* is carry'd all the World over, has the best Elephants, as was *Island*. said above, and a Mountain that produces Rock Crystal,<sup>18</sup> of which at *Goa* they make Buttons, Beads, and other Things.

*Thursday* 26th, we found our selves in the Latitude of 6 Degrees opposite to the Bay of *Bengala* ; and all the Mouths of the River *Ganges*<sup>19</sup> running into it, whilst at the same time the natural Current of the Water is from South to North, that Sea is very rough. This made the Ship often lye athwart the Waves, and kept us all continually watching for fear. This Kingdom of *Bengala* is accounted the most Fruitful the *Mogul* *Bengala* has, by reason of its Rivers. It has a great Trade for Silk, *Kingdom*. Calico, and other Stuffs. Finding our selves in this Latitude we stood to the Eastward, and<sup>20</sup> on *Friday* 27th, were off the *Maldiva* Islands.<sup>21</sup> *Saturday* 28th, the same fair Wind continu'd, but with the same Rowling.<sup>22</sup> *Sunday* 29th, the Wind held on, and a Sailer dying was thrown over Board. *Monday* 30th, we were Becalm'd, but *Tuesday* the last of the Month the Wind came up again, blew harder on *Wednesday* the first of *June*, and held fair on *Thursday* 2d.

*Friday* 3d, we were in sight of the Island of *Nicobar*,<sup>23</sup> the *Nicobar* Wind blowing fresher. This Island pays a Tribute of a certain *Island and* number of human Bodies to the Island of *Andemaon*,<sup>24</sup> to be *Andemaon*. eaten by the Natives of it. These Brutes rather than Men, use<sup>25</sup> when they have wounded an Enemy, to run greedily to suck the Blood that runs. The *Dutch* are<sup>26</sup> Witnesses of this Cruelty of theirs ; For they going with 5 ships to subdue them and landing 800 Men, tho' they were well Intrench'd to defend themselves against those wild People ; yet they were most of them kill'd, very few having the good Fortune to fly to their Ships.

*Sieur Francis Coutinho* General of *Salzete* told me that the chief Motive the *Dutch* had to attempt the Conquest of that Island, was a Report spread abroad, that there was a Well<sup>27</sup> in that Island, whose Water Converted Iron into Gold, and was the true Philosophers Stone. The ground of this Rumour was, an *English* Ship putting into that Island after a dreadful Storm, where they<sup>28</sup> observ'd that a little Water<sup>29</sup> which an

Islander carry'd being split upon an Anchor, that part of it which was wet with it, turn'd into Gold; and asking him where he had that Water, he told them out of a Well in the Island, after which they kill'd him. I can neither affirm nor deny that there is such a Well;<sup>31</sup> but only declare this Story<sup>32</sup> was told me by *F. Emanuel Ferreira*, and by *Coutinho* a Knight of the Order of Christ, before *F. Galli* at *Goa*, who had also heard of it before. No Man in *Europe* or *Asia* can give any more certain Account of it, because those People have no Commerce with any Nation in the World.





Map illustrating the itinerary of Dr Gemelli Careri

## NOTES

# INDIAN TRAVELS OF THEVENOT

## BOOK I

### CHAPTER I

1. The well-known port of Basra on the Persian Gulf. c.f. Balbi (quoted in *Hobson-Jobson*, "Balsara otherwise called Bassora"). Linschoten uses both the old and new forms, Balsora and Bassora (Vol. I, p. 45). Also see Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 5.
2. Opfel in the French text.
3. Wrongly translated. Six days *after* and not *before* the beginning of the monsoon.
4. Monsoon from Arabic *mausim*, season. "The name given to the periodical winds of the Indian seas, and of the seasons which they affect and characterise" (*Hobson-Jobson*). For the proper season for sailing from Persia to Surat, see Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 4.
5. See Chap. XV; also Ovington, pp. 100-101 and Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 146.
6. At half past ten in the morning.
7. Waist deep.
8. First.
9. Examined.
10. Sir Thomas Roe refers to the "custome of the Kings officers to search everie thing that came ashore, even to the pocketts of mens cloathes on their backs, for custome" (Foster, *Embassy*, pp. 28-29). Tavernier observes, "The officers are very strict and search persons with great care." (Vol. I, p. 7). Also see Pietro Della Valle, Vol. I, pp. 23-24.
11. First.
12. A guard.
13. Guard.
14. *Abbas*, a Persian coin worth about 1s. 6d., named after Shah Abbas II. Fryer calls it 'a Sixteen penny piece of Silver' (Vol. I, p. 143). According to Dalgado, an *abbasi* was equivalent to three hundred Portuguese *reis*.
15. Immediately.
16. However it is open only from ten in the morning till noon.
17. Only one.
18. She.
19. Quay.
20. Kiosk, "from the Turki and Persian *kushk*, a pavilion, a villa." *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 485.
21. Peons (mod. sp.), from the Portuguese *peao* and Spanish *peon*, 'a footman'. *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 696.
22. Staffiere, Italian word for a footman or groom.
23. A French livre was equivalent to 1s. 6d. of English money at the time Thevenot wrote. See Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 327.
24. Much earlier.
25. They do not wait.
26. A couch with cushions.
27. First.
28. Tavernier says, "Gold and silver are charged 2 per cent." (Vol. I, p. 7) as does Mandelslo. (p. 18). Ovington indirectly corroborates Thevenot when



he says, "All strange Coyn, whether Imported or Exported, pays to the Mogul's Officers Two and an half *per Cent.*" (p. 132).

29. First.

30. Compare Tavernier who points out that "Private individuals pay as much as 4 and 5 per cent duty on all their goods; but as for the English and Dutch Companies, they pay less." (Vol. I, p. 7). According to Mandelslo the import and export duty on merchandise at Surat was  $3\frac{1}{4}\%$  (p. 18).

## CHAPTER II

1. Mekran, which forms now a part of Southern Baluchistan (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pp. 6 ff.).
2. Sind (mod. sp.).
3. Kabul and Kandahar are outside India now.
4. A misprint for 'on'.
5. It is to be noted that in early Portuguese writings the coast of Malabar was called India, and the rest of the country was designated Asia.
6. Cf. Baldaens: "*India* was anciently divided into two parts by the river *Ganges*; thence the more eastern part was called *India* beyond the *Ganges*, and the western part *India* on this side of the *Ganges*, now known by the name of *Indostan.*"
7. Much useful information on the source of the river Indus has been supplied by recent explorations in Tibet. The Indus rises from "*Singi-kabab*" or 'the Lion's mouth' according to Sven Hedin (*Trans-Himalaya*, Vol. II, p. 210). Swami Pranavananda, in a recent book '*Exploration in Tibet*', however, argues that its real source is *Topchhen la*. The source of the *Ganges* in the Central Himalayas is known as the *Gomukhi* or the Cow's mouth. Here the river is locally known as the Bhagirathi.
8. Chagtai Khan, son of Chingiz Khan, governed Transoxiana, Balkh, Badakshan, and Kashgar, and the mountain ranges in these areas are collectively referred to as the Chagtai mountains.
9. Cape Comorin.

## CHAPTER III

1. Mughal (mod. sp.). Bernier's remarks in this connection are interesting. "To be considered a *Mogol*, it is enough if a foreigner have a white face and profess Mahometanism." The Timurid rulers of India were not strictly speaking Moguls or Mughals. Timur himself was a Turk and Babar did not think highly of the Mughals though his mother was a Mughal princess.
2. Timur the lame.
3. The modern Khorasan (i.e. "land of the sun") in Persia. Originally it meant the eastern of the four quarters of the Sassanian monarchy but the expression is now limited to the north-eastern portion of Persia.
4. Chingiz Khan.
5. More than two centuries.
6. The modern Ghazni or Ghazna in Afghanistan, south west of Kabul. The statement however is hardly accurate. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni annexed a part of the modern province of the Punjab. After the fall of the Ghaznavide kings Sultan Shahabuddin Muhammad Ghorî extended his sway over N. India, but after his death an independent sultanate was founded at Delhi. Babar conquered N. India from Kabul, but after his death Kamran held Kabul independently of Delhi. Only in Akbar's time Kabul and Ghazni definitely became dependencies of the Delhi empire.

7. The grandson of Timur, through his eldest son Ghiyasuddin Jahangir. During the lifetime of Timur, he was in charge of the province of Balkh. (Ref. the genealogical chart on p. 268 of "*The Mohammadan Dynasties*" by S. Lane-Poole).
8. Ghiyasuddin, eldest son of Timur, others being Omar Sheikh, Jalaluddin Miran Shah and Shah Rukh.
9. Babar, as the author correctly points out, was descended directly from Jalaluddin Miran Shah, third son of Timur.
10. Mā-warā-l-nahr according to Lane-Poole or more correctly 'Māwarā-un-nahr', which means 'beyond the river', and is equivalent of Transoxiana.
11. Where.
12. *Lubbu-t-Tawarikh* written by Yahya Bin 'Abdul Latif in 1541 (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, pp. 293-297).
13. Shah Alam. Sher Shah, who had assumed that title either after the battle of Chausa or after his accession to the throne of Delhi, is meant.
14. 'Decan' in the French original. This is a mistake, for Sher Shah did not rule over the Deccan.
15. Shah Tahmasp I (1524-1576), son of Shah Ismail, the founder of the great Safavi dynasty of Persia. Humayun did not marry the Shah's sister.
16. Delhi.
17. Akbar.
18. Akbar died in October 1605 and not in 1604.
19. Jahangir (1605-27) died in the twentysecond year of his reign. The date however is correctly stated.
20. Bulāqī (Dāwar Bakhsh), son of Khusrāu, eldest son of Jahangir. Immediately after Jahangir's death he was raised to the throne by Asaf Khan to enable his son-in-law Prince Khurram to return from the Deccan and to foil the plans of Nur Jahan in favour of Shahriyar her son-in-law and the youngest son of Jahangir. He was 'a mere sacrificial lamb' and was put to death at the instance of Shah Jahan on 21 January 1628 (Saxena, *History of Shah Jahan*, p. 62). A pretender resided at the Persian Court and Mandelslo (p. 42) among others claims to have met this Polagi or Bulaqi in Persia.
21. Khurram ('Joyous'), the third son of Jahangir unsuccessfully rebelled against his father in 1622 and continued in arms till the death of the emperor. For details see Saxena, *op. cit.*, p. 40 ff.
22. Shah Jahan.
23. The reference here is obviously to the 'war of succession' among the four sons of Shah Jahan in Sept. 1657.
24. Aurangzeb.
25. Murad.
26. According to Abdul Hamid Lahori the total revenue of Shah Jahan's empire amounted to 200 millions of rupees, each rupee being computed by Moreland as equivalent to 2s. 3d at the date. Also see Bernier pp. 445-458; Manucci, Vol. II, pp. 413-415 and Mandelslo, p. 38. Roe contents himself with a statement that the Mughal is richer than the rulers of Persia and Turkey.
27. Obviously an incorrect rendering of the Persian *qanun-nama*. Elaborate "descriptive rolls" of the army were prepared since the days of Akbar, and the author is perhaps referring to one of these registers on the basis of which he estimates the number of forces of the Mughals.
28. It is not possible, in the present state of our knowledge of the sources, to arrive at any satisfactory, much less an accurate, estimate of the strength of the Mughal army or its component parts. Thevenot records the opinion of other travellers that the Mughal could send to the field a force of 300,000 horse. Careri was told that Aurangzeb's camp in the south had 60,000 horse. Bernier speaks of 100,000 horse in the camp during Aurangzeb's journey to Kashmir (p. 380). Manucci refrains from giving any figures and crisply describes the camp thus: "It looks like a great city travelling from place to place." He also adds that "the numbers of an army do not consist solely in cavalry and infantry soldiers. . . . When you talk of a division

of 8,000 cavalry, the reader may assume that there are always 30,000 persons" (Vol. II, p. 75 and *n.*). The available figures are therefore to be scrutinized with great circumspection.

The Indian sources also do not help us much. The *Ain*. gives the details of the army but not the requisite figure. In Qazvini's *Padshahnama* (1666) we find that the cavalry maintained directly out of Imperial treasury consisted of 200,000 men. Sarkar holds that in 1648 the Imperial army comprised 200,000 cavalry besides 185,000 cavalry maintained by the princes and the nobles (*Studies in Mughal India*, p. 20).

29. According to Lahori's *Padshahnama* the Mughal empire was divided into 22 subahs or provinces out of which in the latter part of the reign of Shah Jahan, Qandahar was recovered by the Persians, and Balikh and Badakshan remained with the Mughals only for a short time. Thus in 1666, the empire could not have contained more than twenty provinces.

#### CHAPTER IV

1. Gujarat.
2. Correctly, 1572-73.
3. Itimad Khan, Abdul Karim, who invited Akbar in 1572 to occupy Gujarat.
4. Sultan Mahmud Shah III called 'the Martyr' (1538-1554).
5. The reference is to Changez Khan and his supporters.
6. Muzaffar Shah III (1561-1573).
7. The Sultan was about 23 years old at the time of Akbar's invasion.
8. This statement seems to be of doubtful accuracy and appears to have been borrowed from Mandelslo (p. 48).
9. Muzaffar effected his escape in 1578 and organised a formidable resistance to the Mughal government in Gujarat (1583) which was completely suppressed. A fugitive for ten years, hotly pursued from place to place, he committed suicide in 1593 (Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 208; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 133; Commissariat, *A History of Gujarat*, pp. 527-28).
10. The Narbada and Tapti.
11. Cambay, more correctly Khambayat, capital of the state of the same name, 52 miles south of Ahmedabad. Tavernier writes that the port is famous for agates and indigo (Vol. I, p. 56).
12. North gate of Surat leading to Broach.
13. 'Variao' called 'Periaw' by De Laet, a small village, where travellers cross the Tapti, in Broach District, Bombay.
14. A river with a course seventy miles in length which falls into the Gulf of Cambay ten miles south of the estuary of the Narbada.
15. Oklesar, the modern Ankleshwar, a town about six miles south of Broach.
16. From Sanskrit *krosa*, 'a call'. A unit of distance which varies in different localities but is commonly considered to be equivalent to two miles. The author says it was only half a league, but Tavernier makes it equal to about one league. The Akbari 'kos' was equivalent to 5000 *gaz* or yards (*Hobson-Jobson*, pp. 261-262).
17. Broach (Sanskrit *Bhrigukachha*). More correctly Lat. 21° 42'.
18. Slope.
19. Bazaars.
20. Derived from the Persian *bafta* meaning 'woven' and is specially applied to a kind of calico manufactured in Broach. Besides Broach, Charpata and Noakhali in the Chittagong division of Bengal were famous for their cotton 'baftas'.
21. According to traditional accounts, the fortifications of the town are ascribed to Siddharaj Jai Singh of Anhilwara (1094-1143) but these were rebuilt and strengthened by Bahadur Shah (1526-1537). In 1660, a few years before Thevenot arrived in India, parts of the wall were dismantled under the



- orders of Aurangzeb, but in 1685, he was forced to rebuild them in order to save the town from the ravages of the Marathas (*Surat and Broach Dist. Gazetteer*, p. 551).
22. Pagodas; this word is differently used for (1) a temple; (2) an idol; and (3) a coin formerly current in S. India. Here it is used in the first sense (*Hobson-Jobson*, pp. 652-657).
  23. Compare Tavernier's account of Broach, its fort, the *bafta* manufactured there, the peculiar property of the river water, etc. (Vol. I, p. 54).
  24. The Dutch Factory was established at Broach in 1617.
  25. Two per cent according to Baldaeus.
  26. Sarbhon, four miles east of Amod in the Amod sub-division of Broach district. Forbes (*Oriental Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 390) describes it as "one of the best villages in the Baroche Purgunna".
  27. River Dhadhar which rises in the Vindhya range and falls into the Gulf of Cambay.
  28. Dabka is a village eighteen miles distant from Baroda on the left bank of the river Mahi (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, Baroda, pp. 542-544).
  29. Persian *murdakhor*, literally eater of the dead or *maradkhor*, eater of man. Among Europeans, Herodotus was the first to suggest that there were cannibals in India. James Forbes (*Oriental Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 390), however doubts the accuracy of Thevenot. The French traveller was in all probability imposed upon. We cannot trace any evidence of cannibalism in Gujarat. The lawless habits of tribes like Grassias, Bhils, Kolis etc. who infested this wild area may have given them a bad repute among their neighbours (James Douglas, *Bombay and Western India*, Vol. II, pp. 354-57).
  30. Petlad town in Baroda State.
  31. Mahi (the Mophis of Ptolemy), which rises in the Gwalior state and falls into the Gulf of Cambay.
  32. Road.
  33. *Tanki* (Gujarati), a reservoir of water, an artificial pond, commonly known to Europeans in India as a tank.
  34. Reservoirs.
  35. Sojitra, town in Petlad taluka, Baroda state. Mandelslo calls it Sejuntra (p. 22).
  36. Matar, head-quarters of Matar taluk in Kaira district (*Bombay Presidency Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 280).
  37. François de la Boullaye le Gouz. When he first came to India is not precisely known but he was at Goa in 1648 according to Tavernier (Vol. I, p. 164). His *Les Voyages et Observations* was published in 1653 and apparently secured him some reputation. As a person conversant with Indian affairs he was appointed one of the envoys to the court of Agra where he arrived in 1666. Towards the close of that year he was assassinated near Dacca on his way to China. Tavernier's story of his death (Vol. I, p. 169) is inaccurate (Manucci, Vol. II, pp. 150 ff and note; Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 164-180).
  38. Banyan tree (*Ficus bengalensis*). Is it the Kabir-Vad situated on an island in the Narbada river near Broach which James Forbes describes in *Oriental Memoirs*, Vol. I, pp. 16-18? Mr. J. Copland wrote of the same tree in 1814. Vide article entitled 'Account of the Cornelian Mines in the neighbourhood of Broach' printed in *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, Vol. I, 1819, pp. 313-14, cited at pp. 489-91 by Commissariat.
  39. Jitbagh, 'garden of victory' to the south of the lake at Sarkhej, laid out in 1584 by Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan in commemoration of his victory over Sultan Muzaffar III (*Ahmadabad Dist. Gazetteer*, p. 292). For a description of the garden, see Mandelslo (p. 34).
  40. A primitive tribe with many sub-sections with different professions. The Kolis of Gujarat were turbulent people inhabiting hills and committing robbery. Traders were therefore compelled to buy their protection. (Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, Vol. II, pp. 162-163).

## CHAPTER V

1. Arrian (Flavius Arrianus), famous Greek historian (c. 96 to c. 180 A.D.). His best known work is *Anabasis of Alexander* though his *Indica* is of more direct interest to students of Indian history. Thevenot's identification of Ahmadabad with 'Amadavistis' of Arrian is however wrong.
2. Sultan Ahmad Shah (1411-1442) of Gujarat, the founder of Ahmadabad. It is said that the city occupies the site of an older one named Asheval which is popularly attributed to Solanki Raja Karan of Anhilwada.
- 2a. See Tieffenthaler, *Description de l'Inde*, p. 373. "Guzarat, called Ahmadabad in Persian, after its founder Ahmad, is counted among the largest cities of India."
3. From *gard*, 'dust'. The author ascribes the nick-name to Shah Jahan, and his statement is repeated by Forbes (*Oriental Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 119). His father was no less disgusted with its dirt and climate. Jahangir called it a "dustbin", "the place of the simoom", "abode of sickness", "the thorn bed" and "the house of Hell" (*Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. II, p. 13).
4. Governed the province for 6 years (1662-1668) (Sarkar, *History of Aurang-zib*, Vol. V, p. 429).
5. Ahmadabad is situated in 23° 2' North Latitude.
6. The river Sabarmati, on the left bank of which Ahmadabad stands.
7. Before entering the town I found myself in a pleasant avenue planted with trees, ending in a mosque.
8. The reference here is obviously to the Hanz-i-Qutb or Kankariya tank at Ahmadabad, which perpetuates the memory of Sultan Qutbuddin of Gujarat. It is said to have been completed in 1451, and is one of the largest of its kind in India, each of its 34 sides, according to Sir T. C. Hope, measuring 190 feet. There is an island in the centre of it, which formerly had a small garden called Nagina—"the jewel". Mandelslo visited it in 1638. (Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmedabad*, Pt. I, pp. 52-53).
9. The more important tombs at Ahmadabad are those of (i) Ahmad Shah I; (ii) Ahmad Shah's queen; (iii) Darya Khan; (iv) Azam Khan; (v) Mir Abu; and (vi) Shah Waziruddin. See *Bombay Presidency Gaz.*, Vol. I, p. 257.
10. According to De Laet, Badur (Bhadwar) is 10 kos from Daya (Dhaita) and eight kos from Nandurbar. In Akbar's time it formed a part of the territories of Pratap Shah (*The Empire of the Great Mogol*, pp. 28-29).
11. Khandesh.
12. *Caravanseraï*, from Persian *karwansarai*, a serai for reception of caravans.
13. Does he mean the richly carved marble tomb of Mughali Bibi, queen of Muhammad Shah II, in the Rani ka Hazira or the queens' cemetery?
14. Maidan Shah or the King's square, which formed the outer courtyard of the palace. It originally covered an area 620 yards × 330 yards and was surrounded in 1638 by two rows of trees. Its main approach is through the Tin Darwaza or the Triple Gateway (Burgess, *op. cit.*, Pt. I, p. 25).
15. Obviously the Tin Darwaza.
16. *Cotwal* or *kotwal*, a police-magistrate. Thevenot writes of this official in greater detail in Chapter X. The duties of the *kotwal*, as given in the *Ain* (Vol. II, pp. 41-43) represent, according to Sarkar, 'the ideal'. Also see Manucci, Vol. II, pp. 420-21.
17. Are paltry.
18. Octagonal.
19. The Jami Masjid or the cathedral mosque, constructed by Ahmad Shah I (1411-1442), founder of the city, in close neighbourhood of the Tin Darwaza. It forms one of the best examples of the adaptation of the local Jain architectural style for purposes of Muslim worship. Previous to the great earthquake of 1918 it had four 'shaking minars'. See Burgess, *op. cit.*, Pt. I, pp. 30-36, Commissariat, pp. 107-110.
20. This is a common mistake. Jumah is Friday but Jami, that which collects or assembles.

21. Arabic 'mu'adhdhin', criers who call the faithful to the congregational prayer at specified hours.
22. From Arabic *imam*, 'an exemplar' or 'leader'; hence originally the first four Khalifas who were leaders *par excellence* of the faithful and subsequently a divine whose function is to lead the daily prayer of the congregation (Hobson-Jobson, p. 432).
23. Muluk Khana, or the Royal Gallery, which is "shut off from the mosque by a perforated screen." (Commissariat, p. 110; Burgess, *op. cit.*, Pt. I, p. 34).
24. Fakirs, from Arabic *fakir*, 'poor'. The term is usually applied to a Muslim religious mendicant but sometimes indiscriminately used by western writers for all Indian ascetics irrespective of their faith (Hobson-Jobson, p. 347).
25. Temple of Chintaman built by Shantidas, a Jain merchant, about 1638, at a cost of 9 lakhs of rupees. In 1644-46, Aurangzeb, then Viceroy of Gujarat converted it into a mosque, after effectively defiling and desecrating it. The temple was however subsequently restored to the Jains under the orders of Emperor Shah Jahan. Shantidas had succeeded in saving the principal image and he built another temple for it in the city, (Ahmadabad Dist. Gazetteer, p. 285). For a contemporary account see Mandelslo, p. 23.
26. Broken.
27. Thevenot refers to Shah Alam's mausoleum at Rasulabad, a mile and a quarter from the city, built by Taj Khan Narpali in 1531-32. Shah Alam (1415-1475) was the leader of the Bukhari Saiyads in Gujarat. His vast wealth, reputation for piety and family alliances secured for him unprecedented political power. Muslims claim that the conversion of a Hindu chieftain was due to the spiritual power of the saint (Commissariat, pp. 168, 208-9. Ahmadabad Dist. Gazetteer, p. 286).
28. Ostrich eggs are still used for similar purposes in Muslim tombs.
29. About sixty yards from Shah Alam's is another mausoleum, where his descendants lie buried. It is built on the same plan and scale as the saint's. (Commissariat, p. 209; Burgess, *op. cit.*, Pt. II, p. 20).
30. The Masjid at 'Shah Alam' described in Commissariat, p. 211.
31. The Shahi Bagh, a garden palace constructed by Shah Jahan while Viceroy of Gujarat. Mandelslo (1638) found the garden "very large, shut in by a great wall with ditches full of water, with a beautiful house having very rich rooms." For a more detailed description see Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, Vol. II, pp. 205-208 and Burgess, *op. cit.*, Pt. II, pp. 57-60.
32. A large pavilion.
33. Tank.
34. Though the king is not mentioned by name, the reference is obviously to the tomb of Ahmad Shah I.
35. Sarkhej, about six miles from Ahmadabad. The village came to fame as the residence of the celebrated saint Shaikh Ahmad Khattu Ganj Bakhsh. (Burgess, *op. cit.*, Pt. I, p. 46).
36. The ancient capital of Gujarat was Anhilvada (Patan).
37. There is a large number of tombs at Sarkhej including those of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, Sultan Mahmud Begada, Muzaffar II and Mahmud III. For the Sarkhej group of buildings, see Burgess, *op. cit.*, Pt. I, pp. 46-51.
38. Shaikh Ahmad Khattu. The construction of the tomb and the mosque was commenced by Muhammad Shah in 1446 and completed by his son five years later.
39. And as many doors.
40. The mosque at Sarkhej has been described as "the perfection of elegant simplicity". "Except the Moti Masjid at Agra, there is probably no mosque in India that surpasses this in simple elegance." It "may fairly be considered an improvement on the plan of the Jami Masjid". (Burgess, *op. cit.*, Pt. I, p. 49).
41. It is flanked by.
- 41a. The great tank at Sarkhej measuring 700' x 830' feet was constructed by Mahmud Begada.



42. In fine, only tombs are to be seen in that place.
43. Designed.
44. Mandelslo also writes: "The best *Indico* in the world comes from about *Amadabath*, from a Village call'd *Chirchees* (Sarkhej)".
45. The reference here is to Dada Harir's or Bai Harir's well (Burgess, *op. cit.*, Pt. II, pp. 4-6; *Ahmadabad Dist Gazetteer*, p. 282).
46. Stages.
47. Square.
48. Winding.
49. The lady was the chief superintendent of the sultan's harem and the cost, according to a Sanskrit inscription, amounted to 329000 of an unspecified coin.
50. Almost all the foreign travellers of the period refer to the animal hospital of Ahmadabad.
51. More accurately, cheeta.
52. Chintz or printed cloth. Portuguese, *chita*; Marathi, *chit*, and Hindi, *chint*. Derived from Sanskrit *chitra* 'variegated, speckled' (*Hobson-Jobson*, 201 f).
53. Masulipatam in the Kistna district, Madras, once famous for its manufactures, specially chintzes.
54. Mylapore, a suburb of the Madras city. Linschoten says "The aforesaid place called S. Thomas was in time past a towne of great traffique, (and as then) called (by the name of) Meliapor" (Vol. I, p. 82). Conti calls it Malepur (*India in the Fifteenth century*).

## CHAPTER VI

1. Bareja in the Daskroi sub-division of Ahmadabad district.
2. I took the Cambay road on the right hand.
3. Nagra, a village north of Cambay.
4. Baldaeus emphatically though wrongly asserts that "*Cambaja* is a different province from *Gusuratte*" (*Description of the Coasts, etc.*, p. 505).
- 4a. In 1638 Mandelslo found it "much greater than *Surat*" (p. 31).
5. And all have gates at the two ends. See Tavernier (Vol. I, p. 56) who also says, "at two hours after dark every street was closed by two gates." Also see Mandelslo, p. 31.
6. Limodra commonly called Nimodra now in the Rajpipla state. The celebrated cornelian and agate mines are three miles east of the village, and lie about five miles south-west of Ratanpur (Commissariat, pp. 262 and 268 n.). Barbosa visited "*Limadura*" and wrote of the cornelian rock (Vol. I, p. 143). Tavernier refers to the agates of Cambay (Vol. I, p. 56).
7. Banias and Rajputs.
8. The tomb of 'Umar bin Ahmad al Kazaruni, who bore the title of Zaur-al Malik. From an inscription on the tomb it appears that he died on 21 October 1333. (Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Bharoch, Cambay, Dholka etc.*, pp. 27-28).
9. Manucci also refers to the "hospital for sick birds" at Cambay (Vol. I, p. 156).
10. This is confirmed by Tavernier (Vol. I, p. 56): "Indigo of the same kind as that of Sarkhej is made, also, in the vicinity of the town (Cambay), and it was celebrated for its traffic when the Portuguese flourished in India."
11. Tavernier also assigns the decay of Cambay to the same cause. (Vol. I, p. 57).
12. Thevenot obviously refers to the 'bore' or rushing tide. See *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. IX, p. 297.
13. The Dutch come there only at the end of September.

14. Faces.
15. The reference is to the south-west monsoon winds which blow from June to October, during which rains fall. These are accompanied by heavy storms in the month of September.
16. Wrecked.
17. Sought advice as to.
18. Almadia, from Arabic *al-madiya*, 'a raft'. In India, it is generally used for a canoe (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 15).
19. Normally only at night time.
20. The pirates of Malabar were notorious for their ravages. They were particularly cruel to the Christians, as many of them were fanatical Moplah Mussalmans (Fryer, Vol. I, p. 164 and *n*; Biddulph, *The Pirates of Malabar*; Tavernier Vol. I, pp. 143-144).
21. Sand banks.
22. *Charans* who are found all over Gujarat. They acted as guards to travellers and goods. Their persons were held sacred and it was believed that a Charan's blood brought ruin on him who caused to it be split (R. E. Enthoven, *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. I, pp. 271 ff. Also see Heber, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India*, Vol. II, pp. 40-41).
23. Outcaste.
24. Detour.
25. Obviously Petlad.
- 25a. Bilpad, south of Borsad, about 2 miles from the river Mahi.
26. 'Grasias' or 'Garasias', an epithet said to be derived from the term *grasa* (lit. a mouthful), which was used throughout Gujarat and Kathiawar to indicate lands and villages given to junior members of the Rajput ruling families for their maintenance. The term came to acquire a bad odour in the 17th and 18th centuries when it was applied to armed bands of robbers who exacted contribution, analogous to Marathi *chauth* and *rakhi* of the Sikhs, from villages as the price of their protection and forbearance.
27. Sili, a village in the Anand taluk of Kaira district near the Mahi river.
28. A very ill-clad fellow.
29. Paisa, a small copper coin current in India. It is now equivalent to 1/64 of a rupee. Thevenot elsewhere mentions that a rupee was worth 32½-33½ paisa only. According to Tavernier the value of a rupee varied from 46 to 56 paises (Vol. I, pp. 22-23). At Surat "the Company's Accounts are kept in Book-rate *Price*, viz. 32 to the *Mam*. and 80 *pice* to the *Rupee*" (Fryer, Vol. II, p. 126).
30. Normally.
31. Immediately.
32. Toll.
33. "Ragout" in the original, stewed meat or fish, or stews in general.

## CHAPTER VII

1. The correct latitude is 21° 12' N.
2. Shivaji. (For details see Chap. XVI).
3. The construction of the outer wall began in 1664 and was completed about 1675. (*Surat and Broach Dist. Gazetteer*, p. 89).
4. Claim large compensation.
5. Moderate size.
6. The estimated population of Surat was about 2 lakhs in the later half of the 17th century (*Ibid*, p. 90).
7. November, December, January and February, etc.

8. Comfortable lodgings.
9. Used comprehensively for Europeans in general.
10. Muslims.
11. Though literally the term is applied to a person who is neither a Christian nor a Jew nor a Muslim here it refers to Hindus only.
12. Shias.
13. See Part II, Book II, Chap. XIII of *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot*, where he points out that the Sunnis acknowledge the first four Caliphs as the lawful successors of the Prophet while the Shias believe that Ali, the first of their twelve *Imams*, was his rightful successor.
14. From Persian *gabr*, 'infidel', a term of opprobrium generally applied to the Zoroastrians. See Dalgado, Vol. I, pp. 446-447. For Thevenot's account of *Gabrs* still resident in Persia, see Part II, Book II, Chap. XIV of the English translation.
15. *Atash-parast*, 'fire-worshipper'. The Parsis however deny that they worship fire as such.
16. The Parsis migrated to India in 716 A.D., and settled later at Navsari (Murzban, *The Parsis in India*, pp. 43 ff).
17. The second Caliph who was at the head of the Muslim state from 634 to 644 A.D. Persia came under his rule in 641 A.D. after the battle of Nehawand.
18. Virji Vora, the richest merchant and banker of his time. The English had dealings with him as early as 1617, and he was the Company's largest creditor in Surat. He had agents at Agra, Ahmadabad and other places. In 1643, the Court of Committees sent an 'iron chest from Nuremburg' as a present to Virji (Pant, *The Commercial Policy of the Moguls*, p. 137). He died probably in 1677, and is frequently mentioned in the letters of the time (Foster, *The English Factories in India*). Thevenot's statement that Virji was a "Banian" leaves no doubt about his religion.
19. The first English factory at Surat was founded in 1612. The Dutch established theirs four years later. For a sketch of the English factory, see Ovington, p. 226.
20. In the 17th century, there were two important officers in Surat. The officer in charge of the castle commanded the soldiers of the garrison only and possessed no authority in the city. The city had a separate governor who received the customs duties and other Imperial revenues on behalf of the Mughal emperor. Ovington (p. 136) says that the governor of the castle "is always confin'd a Prisoner within its Walls". See also Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 6.
21. The author's description of the houses in Surat is confirmed by Ovington (p. 130) and other European travellers.
22. Are expensive.
23. Portuguese settlement and town in Gujarat about 100 miles north of Bombay. It possesses stately forests about two-thirds of which consist of teak.
24. Obtained from.
25. Bambous split into two.
26. Rainy season.
27. Solidifies.
28. Cloths, "des toiles" in the French text. See p. 48, Part III of *Les Voyages de Mr de Thevenot*, Paris, 1689.
29. Game.
30. The common thistle of India cultivated all over the country for its oil producing black seeds (Watt, Vol. II, p. 378). Wild saffron does not bear oilseeds.
31. *Sesamum indicum*. Hindi, *til*, *tel* etc. Its small flattish seeds yield an oil and are used as food. See Watt, Vol. VI. Part II, pp. 502 ff.
32. Bitter.
33. Navapur-petha in Nandurbar taluk in Khandesh district, Bombay. It was renowned for its grapes and melons in the 17th century.
34. Brandy.



35. Jaggery, "coarse brown (or almost black) sugar made from the sap of various plants", such as *khajur*, the palmyra, the coco-palm etc. (Hobson-Jobson, p. 446).
36. *Babul* or *kikar*, the *Acacia arabica*.
37. 'Tari' or 'toddy', the fermented sap of the *tar* or palmyra, and also of other palms, such as the date, the coco-palm (Hobson-Jobson, p. 927).

## CHAPTER VIII

1. *Khajur* (*Phoenix sylvestris*) which yields toddy, and is grown freely in several parts of Surat district.
2. More accurately cocoa-nut tree.
3. Take.
4. Bitter.
5. If he wishes to occupy.
6. There are sold etc.
7. Omit "to be sold there also".
- 7a. Myrrh—"A gum-resin highly esteemed by the ancients as an unguent and perfume, used for incense in temples and also in embalming." "True nayrrh is the product of *Balsamodendron Myrrha*, a small tree of the natural order Amyridaceae that grows in eastern Africa and Arabia" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 19, pp. 114-115).
8. A sweet exudation obtained from certain trees. The European *manna* is now obtained mainly from Sicily. The article referred to here seems to be of Persian or Arabic origin. Persian and Arabic *manna* "is the produce of *Alhagi maurorum*, a small, spiny, leguminous plant growing in Arabia, Asia Minor, Persia, Afghanistan, Baluchistan and northern India." (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 17, pp. 587-588).
9. Ammonium chloride or Sal ammoniac, said to have been prepared from camels' dung near the temple of Jupiter Ammon in Africa.
10. Mandelslo also mentions "*Roenas*, which is a root that dies red" (p. 19). 'Rohina', 'rohna', 'rohan' etc. are all vernacular names of *Soyimida febrifuga*, the 'Indian red-wood tree'. The bark and not the root is responsible for the dye. See Watt, Vol. VI, Part III, pp. 318-319.
11. Are retailed.

## CHAPTER IX

1. *Khandi*. This weight is common in southern India, and is equivalent to about 500 lbs (Hobson-Jobson, p. 155).
2. Maund (Eng.), *man* (Hind.). According to Tavernier the Surat maund varied between 40 and 42 seers (Vol. I, p. 334).
3. There is no standard seer in India; it varies from province to province. According to Mandelslo a Gujarat seer was equivalent to "about 12 ounces" in 1638 (p. 67). Tavernier says that the Surat seer was equal to  $\frac{3}{4}$  livre or 13 French ounces (Vol. I, p. 334). Fryer (Vol. II, p. 126) makes it slightly less than a pound (40 seers=37 pounds).
4. Tola from Sanskrit *tula*, a balance. It is equivalent to 96 *rattis*, a ratti, according to E. Thomas, being equal to 1.75 grains. 80 tolas now equal 1 seer in India (Hobson-Jobson, p. 928).
5. Mangelin, seed of *Adenanthera pavonina*. According to Yule (Hobson-Jobson, p. 553) a seed of mangelin was equal to about 4.13 grains in weight. For its varying weights at Goa, Bijapur and Golkonda, see Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 333. See also Watt, *Dictionary of Economic Products*, Vol. I, pp. 107-108.

6. From Arabic *kirrat*, a bean of the carob tree, that formerly served as a unit of weight equivalent to 1/24 of an ounce. It is now used to indicate the proportionate quality of gold. A diamond carat is however 3/4 grains nearly (Hobson-Jobson, pp. 160-161).
7. A val is equivalent to 3 *rattis* or about 5.733 grs. troy in weight (Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 333).
8. *Ghungchi*, Sanskrit *gunja*, the seed of *Abrus precatorius*. Its weight varies between 1.91 and 1.94 grs. troy, according to Ball. See Watt, Vol. I, pp. 10-14.
9. Rupee (mod. sp.). In Thevenot's time it was equivalent to 2s. 3d. The weight is still a tola.
10. Lakh (Sanskrit *laksha*), one hundred thousand.
11. Crores, 10 millions or one hundred lakhs.
12. *Padam* (Sanskrit *padman*).
13. Gold mohur, which equalled 14-14½ silver rupees in value. Tavernier also gives the same exchange value of a gold mohur as Thevenot.
14. 20 sols=1 livre, equivalent to 1s. 6d. See Ball, Vol. I, p. 327.
15. Hardly.
16. Tavernier mentions that 49 to 50, and sometimes 46 *paisas* went to the rupee. On an average, a *paisa* was equal to 1/50th of the rupee. The value of a *paisa* at Agra was about 1/55th or 1/56th of a rupee (Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 22-23).
17. *Mahmudi*, equivalent to about 20 *paisas* or two-fifths of a rupee. Fryer says it was "somewhat less than an English shilling." (Vol. II, pp. 125-126). Its exchange value constantly fluctuated. *Mahmudi* was originally a Persian coin but it was later minted by the Gujarat kings. It was not a Mughal coin properly speaking.
18. One twelfth of a sol or 3/40d.
19. *Badam*, 'bitter almonds'. Tavernier disagrees with Thevenot. According to him, "Sometimes 35, sometimes 40, of them are given for the Paisa", (Vol. I, p. 23).
20. A Spanish coin of the same value as the French *ecu* and therefore equal to 4½s (Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 328).

## CHAPTER X

1. Arabic *mufti*, "The officer who expounds the law. He assists the qazi, or judge, and supplies him with *fatwas*, or decisions. He must be learned in the *Quran* and *Hadis*, and in the Muslim works of law" (Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, p. 367). Prof. P. Saran is of opinion that the *mufti* in India was "a sort of unofficial legal referee recognised by public opinion" and he was not a regular official in the judicial department. (*The Provincial Government of the Mughals*, pp. 344-347; Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 26-28 and 114).
2. Supervision.
3. The qazi was the chief judge in criminal suits and tried them according to Islamic laws. All cases between Muslims as well as all suits between Muslims and non-Muslims came before him. For qualifications and functions of a qazi, see P. Saran, pp. 339 ff; Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.
4. Dispute.
5. Maintains.
6. Derived from Latin *intendere* meaning 'to watch over'. The intendants controlled practically the entire civil administration, including the judicial, and revenue machinery, of the province.
7. *Waqai-Navis* (sometimes written as *waqai-nigar* also) was one of the agencies through which the central government kept itself informed of the day-to-day happenings in the provinces. The *waqai-navis* was stationed at the provincial

- headquarters and reported to the emperor every occurrence of note. Sarkar says that his reports were first "communicated to the subahdar or, in the case of a field-army, to the general in command, before being despatched to the Emperor." (Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-75).
8. *Nawab*, (English 'Nabob'), as the provincial governors were officially styled during the Mughal period.
  9. The *Quran* or *Qoran*.
  10. On arrival one lays before him.
  11. *Sir Bashi*, an ancient military title in Turkey. The officer exercised police control over the inhabitants of the district under his charge.
  12. Formerly the supervisor of a department was styled *darogha* but now the designation is limited mainly to the lower ranks in the British Indian police service.
  13. Shields.
  14. This is fully confirmed by Ovington (p. 138) and *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* quoted in Saran, *op. cit.*, p. 388.
  15. Part II, Book II, Chapter IV, p. 79.
  16. *Khabar-dar*.
  17. A similar.
  - 17a. See also Ovington, p. 137.
  18. Manucci also bears testimony to the kotwal's responsibility for thefts and robberies, and describes how the kotwal utilised sweepers who went to clean every house twice daily as his spies (Vol. II, p. 421).
  19. Means.
  20. 'Sequin', a coin of Venice worth about 9s. 3d. in English money. (See Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 328).
  21. Khojah Minaz.
  22. Every possible enquiry.
  23. Had taken refuge with.
  24. *Faujdar*, police magistrate in charge of a sarkar. His functions are briefly described in the *Ain*, Vol. II, pp. 40-41. See Manucci, Vol. II, pp. 450-451; Ovington, p. 139.
  25. Who is responsible for the security of the country about.
  26. *Dohai* or *Duhai-Padshah*, an exclamation or expression used in prohibiting in the name of the Padshah (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 321), somewhat similar to the Portuguese invocation 'Aqui el Rei'.
  27. Court.
  28. Few penalties.

## CHAPTER XI

1. Addressed.
2. The French Company.
3. Manucci (Vol. I, p. 62) calls him "Brother Ambrozio", and Irvine identifies him with "Father Ambroise of Preilly". During the sack of Surat (1664) Shivaji did not plunder his house saying "The *Frankish* Padrys are good men, and shall not be molested" (Bernier, p. 188). Dr. Dellon also knew Father Ambrose and got from him a letter of introduction to Juan de Fonseca, Rector of the Jesuit College at Daman (*Relation d'un Voyage fait aux Indes Orientales*, p. 233).
4. Capuchins, a section of the great Franciscan order.
5. The reference is to the formation of the famous *Compagnie des Indes* at the instance of Colbert and Louis XIV in 1664 with the object of trading with India and the east.
6. Hubert Hugo, a Dutch pirate. Originally in the employment of the Dutch Company at Ahmadabad he returned home in 1654 and sailed from Amsterdam for the east (1661) in the *Black Eagle*. On his way he called at Havre where



he enlisted a number of Frenchmen who had brought a commission from the French Admiral, the Duc de Vendôme. The *Black Eagle* was driven by adverse winds to the Red Sea (April, 1662) where Hugo and his crew captured a number of merchantmen. It was probably on this occasion that the dowager queen of Bijapur was robbed (*The English Factories in India*, 1661-1664, pp. 189-190 and *n. Court Minutes of the East India Company*, 1664-1667, p. 7).

7. On board his ship.
8. Mocha or Mokha, a port in Arabia on the Red Sea.
9. Caesar, Duke of Vendôme (1594-1665), Admiral of France.
10. Badi Sahiba, widow of Muhammad Adil Shah and regent during the minority of Ali Adil Shah II. She went on pilgrimage to Mecca four times, according to Manucci (Vol. II, p. 300). The incident mentioned here probably relates to her journey commenced in February 1661. See *The English Factories in India* 1661-1664, p. 88 *n.*
11. Socotra or Sokotra, an island in the Indian Ocean belonging to Great Britain. It is situated in 12° 30' N (not 11° 40' as Thevenot puts it) and is on the direct route to India via the Suez Canal.
12. Mecca.
13. The *Bantam*.
14. He did not despair.
15. Awaited.
16. Carried.
17. To the Grand Sheikh. The reference is to the dynasty founded at Mecca in the 11th century by Ibn Qitada who claimed descent from Hashim, the Prophet's great grandfather. This house continued to rule there until 1925 when King Hussain abdicated. The Hashimite family still rules in Iraq and Transjordan. (Gerald de Gaury, *Arabia Phoenix*, p. 24).
18. Others.
19. Spoke strongly about.
20. And said.
21. Aden, fortified town on the south coast of the province of Yemen, Arabia, situated in 12° 47' N. Lat. It was acquired by the British in 1839 (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. V, pp. 9 ff.).
22. Charles de La Porte (1602-1664), first Duke of Meilleraye and Marshal of France. Thomas Reynardson wrote from Mokha on 20 July 1656 that "The last yeare a French Pyrratt was forced by foule weather and want of provisions into Aden, where they were all put in prison and afterwards sent up to the Great Emaun, where they were all circumcized." Sir William Foster suggests that the vessel referred to above probably formed "part of the squadron sent out by the Duc de la Meilleraye for the Red Sea" (*The English Factories in India*, 1655-1660, pp. 58-59). The letter also mentions another ship of 26 guns from which the boat in question was separated by stress of weather. This almost confirms Thevenot's statement.
23. For la Boullaye, see *supra* Note, 37, Chapter IV. Boullaye was the king's envoy while Beber was the nominee of the new French East India Company. They arrived at Surat on 1 April, 1666 and left for Agra about a fortnight later, to secure a *farman* from the Mughal emperor in favour of the French Company. According to a contemporary English account, the envoys were not treated well; "They have had neither respect nor countenance shewed them, but tossed from post to pillar." From Agra, Boullaye proceeded to Bengal and was murdered near Decca.  
Beber left for Surat and was robbed of all his belongings while a day's journey out of Agra. The emperor then recalled him and granted him the *farman* he wanted. After a brief residence at Surat Beber went to Goa where he died. (Manucci, Vol. II, pp. 151-152; *The English Factories in India*, 1665-1667).
24. Sir George Oxenden. For details regarding his administration, see *The English Factories in India*, 1665-1667.

## CHAPTER XII

1. Probably Muhammad Beg Khan who held this office in 1666.
2. Umara or Omrah (plural of *Amir*). The term was applied to the higher officials and nobility at Muhammadan Courts, specially those of the Mughals. In the accounts of European travellers, it is used for a lord or noble of the Imperial Court (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 637). The premier noble was ordinarily styled as *Amir-ul-Umara* (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 240).
3. Obviously a misprint for cymbals in the original French which has been repeated in the translation.
4. Fifteen days.
5. And which.
6. Decorated.
7. The same as Barbosa's Reynel and Peter Mundy's Raneile. Rander, situated on the right bank of the Tapti, 2 miles above Surat city, and an important trading centre before Surat rose to prominence (*Bombay Presidency Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pp. 344-345).
8. Fountains.
9. Blue.
10. Shot up.
11. Arabic *maula*, Hindi *mulla*, 'a Muslim doctor of law'.
12. Ovington was more favourably impressed with the performances of the *kanchanis* or dancing girls of Surat (see p. 153).
13. Nimble ones.
14. Punishment.

## CHAPTER XIII

1. Like to adorn.
2. Large sums were spent by the English and the Dutch on tombs. The instance mentioned by Thevenot was a comparatively insignificant one. An idea of their expenditure can be had from the fact that a bill of Rs. 6,000/- was charged to the Dutch Company for merely repairing the tomb of Baron Van Reede, one of their early chiefs.
3. Read "a certain drinker" instead of "a great drinker." Ovington also refers to this tomb (p. 236) but Mr. Rawlinson suggests that he derived his information from Thevenot. An anonymous writer (*Calcutta Review*, Vol. IX, 1848, p. 125) says that the tomb was built over the grave of a "notorious tippler" who, according to one account, was a ship's butler, while others believed him to have been a person of distinction. The tomb has not survived to our times; whether it ever existed is a moot point.
4. "*Vrati*", literally a person who has taken some vow, but used in a general sense for all 'sanyasis' and mendicants.
5. With the intention.
6. The name 'Tapti' is derived from *tap*, 'to heat'. According to mythology, it is said to have been created by the sun to protect himself from his own warmth. The river has a reputation for sanctity, and the chief places of pilgrimage are Changdeo, and Bodhan (*Bombay Presidency Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pp. 174-175).
7. Sanskrit *yogin*, and Hindi *yogi*, 'a Hindu ascetic', (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 461).
8. From Persian *darvesh*, 'a Muslim mendicant'.
9. Mahadeva or Siva, the third deity of the Hindu trinity.

## CHAPTER XIV

1. A Banian had it made.
2. It is mentioned by most of the 17th century travellers. Mandelslo (p. 18)

and Roe (p. 90) refer to it briefly. But Pietro Della Valle devotes one entire section (VII) to this famous reservoir (Vol. I, pp. 32-35), and Peter Mundy also gives a fairly detailed description of the tank and its environs (Vol. II, pp. 31-32). Fryer says that "were it filled, the best Ship that swims in the Sea might ride in it" (Vol. I, p. 261). The tank is now dry and has been converted into a garden. Strangely, however, Ovington is silent both about the tank and the famous banyan tree near it. See also *Surat and Broach Dist. Gazetteer*, p. 312.

- 2a. "Seze" (Sixteen) in the French original, was the correct number of sides.
3. Three fathoms in height, length and breadth.
4. On the southern bank of the reservoir, there are Muslim monuments of which the most famous is the mosque of Nav Syed Pir. Pietro Della Valle also refers to some Muslim tombs near the tank (Vol. I, p. 33).
5. Pietro Della Valle rightly identifies Gopi, whose name the tank bears, with Malik Gopi of the Portuguese chroniclers. Longworth Dames similarly identifies him with Barbosa's "Milocoxim" who governed Surat (Barbosa, Vol. I, p. 149 f.n. 2). He was, according to the local traditions, an Anavla Brahman and not a Bania as Thevenot suggests. Malik Gopi served under Mahmud Begada, and his successor Muzaffar by whom he was put to death. Though Gopi's tank is now dry a suburb of the city of Surat still commemorates his name.
6. The tank was in a fairly good condition when Mandelslo visited it in 1638 (p. 18) but it seems to have steadily deteriorated for lack of repairs and by the beginning of the next century it was completely in ruins. *Surat and Broach Dist. Gazetteer*, p. 312.
7. The reference perhaps is to one of the gardens owned by Jahanara Begam, the sister of Aurangzeb, who was assigned the revenues of the port of Surat for her betel expenses. (Manucci, Vol. I, p. 216).
8. Portuguese *mangueiras*, 'mango trees'.
9. Portuguese *palmeira*, 'the palm-tree'.
10. The dried unripe fruit of *Terminalia chebula*.
11. Probably *maça* or *ber*.
12. *Calotropis gigantea*, Vern. *ak*, *akond* etc. The plant is described in Part II, Book II, Chapter XVI. A woodcut of the flowering twig will be found opposite p. 116 of the English edition. "Querzehre" is obviously a corruption of the Persian *Khar zahrah*.
13. Brilliance.
14. Our.
15. *Vat tree*, the Indian fig (*Ficus indica*), which is particularly sacred to the Hindus. This particular tree has been noticed by Mandelslo (p. 18), Pietro Della Valle (Vol. I, p. 35), Peter Mundy (Vol. II, p. 34), Dellon (Supplement, p. 27), Tavernier (Vol. II, pp. 155-156) and Fryer (Vol. I, p. 265). Sir Richard Temple, Grey and Crooke wrongly identify it with the *Kabir Bark* which was near Broach.
16. Space.
17. Or more than.
18. Thevenot's *Mameva* and Tavernier's *Mamaniva* are probably bad corruptions of Mahamaya. Dellon calls the goddess the "Mother of Mankind" and Pietro Della Valle states that the Hindus called her "Parvete, whom they hold to be the wife of Mahaden" (Vol. I, p. 35). There cannot therefore be any doubt about the identity of the goddess who is variously known Bhavani, Durga, Kali etc.
19. Coloured red all over.
20. French *goujon*, 'a small fresh water fish generally used as a bait'.
21. There.
22. Skins.
23. The rainy season.
24. Is it *Gahara Kunda*, deep tank? "The Tapti is believed to rise in the sacred tank of Multai (*Mul-tapi*, the source of the Tapti) on the Satpura



plateau, but its real source is two miles distant." A description of the tank is to be found in *Betul District Gazetteer*, p. 255.

25. Burhanpur.
26. But at high tide.

## CHAPTER XV

1. Right up.
2. Suvali, the "Swally" of the old records, the sea-port of Surat, about 12 miles from the city.
3. According to Ball, a French livre was equivalent to 1s. 6d. when Tavernier visited India (1631-1662) and a rupee was worth 2s. 3d. Thevenot's calculation is therefore obviously wrong, for the exchange value of the rupee could not possibly fall to such an extent during the four years between Tavernier's sixth voyage in 1662 and Thevenot's visit to India in 1666.
4. Guards.

## CHAPTER XVI

1. Predicament.
2. Shivaji's father began his career in Ahmadnagar and later entered the service of Bijapur.
3. Shivaji was born at Shivner near Junnar. Cosme da Guarda, a Portuguese writer, asserts that the Maratha prince was born at Virar (now on B. B. & C. I. Ry.) near Bassein. Thevenot's error may be due to the same source (Sen, *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji*, p. 1 and n.).
4. He resisted successfully in the mountains of Visiapour those that came to attack him.
5. Was acting in collusion.
6. The cause of Shahaji's arrest is a subject of controversy. It is also alleged that he was himself guilty of insubordination while participating in the siege of Jinji.
7. This is incorrect. Shahaji was released and died many years later from injuries caused by a fall from his horse while hunting.
8. Powerful.
9. Badi Sahiba. It was at her instance that Afzal Khan led his disastrous expedition against Shivaji.
10. Shaista Khan, appointed viceroy of the Deccan in 1659. He was the son of Asaf Khan, brother of the celebrated Nur Jahan and father-in-law of Shah Jahan and was thus maternal uncle of Aurangzeb.
11. 5 April, 1663.
12. Contemporary authorities differ on this point. While some chroniclers assert that Shaista Khan slept in a tent that fateful night, others are of opinion that he used to reside in a small building.
13. Abul Fath was killed while he rushed to his father's rescue.
14. The story is inaccurate but gained wide currency in the European settlements. L'Escalot heard it and a letter from Surat to Madras dated 25 May 1663 (*English Factories in India*, 1661-1664, p. 238) also reports that Shivaji "killed 50 great persons, wounded Shasta Ckaun, killed 12 of his weomen and wounded 6, killed his eldest sonn and sonn in law, wounded 2 more,

carried away his daughter and a great treasure of jewels and money." The European travellers obviously relied on bazar rumours which greatly exaggerated Shivaji's achievement and the discomfiture of the Mughals.

15. Was hatching.
16. If he did not withdraw.
17. Shaista Khan was, in fact, transferred to Bengal, an unhealthy province, the climate of which did not suit the Mughal grandees.
18. Bassein (from *vasat*, 'settlement') in Thana district, Bombay. Bahadur Shah ceded the city and its neighbourhood to the Portuguese in 1534. Under them Bassein became famous for its wealth and magnificence. The ancient buildings in the city have been described in detail by Da Cunha (*History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein*).
19. Chaul (*Cheul*) in Kolaba district, about 30 miles south of Bombay. The Portuguese appeared for the first time at Chaul in 1505 and it was the scene of a naval fight between the Portuguese and the Muslim three years later in which the former were defeated.
20. Fakir, Arabic *fakir* (poor), a mendicant.
21. To distract.
22. Contemporary English and Dutch accounts of the first sack of Surat are available in print. (Letter of L'Escalot in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. L; *English Factories in India*, 1661-1664, pp. 298-316; Forrest, *Selections from the Bombay Records, Home Series*, Vol. I; Sen, *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji*).
23. Decided to march off.
24. He had amassed.
- 24a. Bernier (p. 188) gives no definite estimate of the value of the booty but says that it amounted to several millions. The English President and Henry Gary estimated it at a crore of rupees. (*The English Factories in India*, 1661-64, pp. 303-307).
25. According to an anonymous French writer who visited Surat six years later, Shivaji relieved one merchant of forty pounds of fine pearls (Sen, *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji*, p. 179 f.n. 2). L'Escalot in a way confirms Thevenot, for Thevenot's pounds and seers are equivalent.
26. Might.
27. If one did not know that.
28. Thevenot forgets that the Marathas were also Indians.
29. Inayat Khan, the governor, made no effort to defend the town but deserted his post at the earliest opportunity.
30. Stood firm at.
31. Bernier (p. 188) corroborates Thevenot on this point. Carré says that the Capuchin Fathers were not molested on account of the general esteem in which they were held. He does not, however, mention Father Ambrose in this connection (*Foreign Biographies of Shivaji*, p. 199).
32. Allowing.
33. Pretended that.
34. Throwing.
35. Shivaji had been defeated by Jai Singh who induced him to visit the imperial court.
36. Coolness.
37. But while waiting for them to do so.
38. For the correct story, see Sen, *Siva Chhatrapati*, pp. 217-20.
39. Because most of them came to court only upon the King's word.
- 39a. Command.
40. Orme follows Thevenot (*Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*, p. 14). There is good reason to believe that Shivaji had offered to recover Kandahar for the emperor.
41. Baskets.
42. Ferry-man.
43. Rode.
44. According to Sabhasad, Shambaji was left with trusted friends at Muttra.

(See Sen, *Siva Chhatrapati*, p. 71). Shivaji had himself caused a rumour to this effect to be spread to ensure his son's safe return.

## CHAPTER XVII

1. Father Ambrose is mentioned also by Bernier, Carré, Manucci and François Martin.
2. Resolves.
3. Shab-i-Barat, "The Persian title for the fifteenth day of the month Sha'ban." "On this night, Muhammad said, God registers annually all the actions of mankind which they are to perform during the year; and that all the children of men, who are to be born and to die in the year, are recorded." The night is to be spent in prayer and the next day is to be one of fasting. But actually it has become the Muslim "Guy Fawkes Day" in India (Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, p. 570).
4. Alms-giving.

## CHAPTER XVIII

1. Baroda. Barodora of John Jourdain (Pt. I, 174), Brodra of Mandelslo (p. 21), also called 'Brodera' by some English travellers (Forbes, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Chap. X). Tavernier (Vol. I, p. 58) who calls the town Broudra says it was noted for 'a considerable trade in calicoes.' Jourdain refers to its indigo trade.
2. Rajapur. The modern town of Baroda was built at a short distance from the old town. Mandelslo calls the old town 'Radiapora' (p. 21). De Laet has "Radiapore or rather Brodera" (p. 25).
3. Plenty.
4. Lac, Hindi *lakh*, "the resinous incrustation produced on certain trees (such as *dhak*, *peepul* and *kusum* or *kusumb*) by the puncture of the lac insect." It contains "10 per cent of dark red colouring matter from which is manufactured *lac-dye*." (Hobson-Jobson, pp. 499-500; Watt, Vol. IV, 570-577).
5. Sindkheda in Baroda State. Mandelslo (p. 21) says it is 'eight Leagues from the City' (Baroda).
6. A port on the Gulf of Cambay in Ahmadabad district, once an important commercial centre, now superseded by the rival port of Bhavnagar (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XII, pp. 301-302).
7. Headquarters of the taluk of the same name, Baroda state. Famous for the manufacture of *patolas* (variegated saris), embroidery and pottery.
8. A town at the east end of the island of the same name.
9. The correct latitude is 20° 43' No.
10. It was Nuno da Cunha and not Albuquerque who built a fort at Diu in 1535-36. The date also is therefore wrong.
- 10a. Afonso d'Albuquerque, Governor of Portuguese India, 1509-1515.
11. Kansuh-al-Ghori, who ruled Egypt from 1501-1516, sent a naval expedition under Mir Hashim against the Portuguese in 1507. Hashim was joined by Malik Ayaz, Governor of Diu. The joint Egyptian and Gujarati armada encountered a Portuguese squadron commanded by Dom Lourenço d'Almeida, son of the viceroy, near Chaul in 1508. In the battle that followed the Portuguese were defeated and Dom Lourenço was killed. Next year the viceroy avenged his son's defeat and death by routing the allied fleet at Diu (Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, pp. 115-125).
12. Turkish and Circassian slaves trained in arms by Sultan Malik as-Salih. They later captured the government of Egypt in 1254 and ruled the country till 1517 A.D., when it was conquered by Salim I, emperor of the Turks (Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, p. 312).



13. Incited.
14. Sultan Sulaiman I, surnamed 'the Magnificent', emperor of the Turks from 1520 to 1566 A.D.
15. The Portuguese occupied Diu in 1537 after Sultan Bahadur's death. It was besieged by a joint Turkish and Gujarati force by land and sea late in September 1538. The stubborn resistance of the defenders and the news of the arrival of reinforcement led to the Turkish withdrawal early in November. (Whiteway, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-265).
16. Bahadur Shah, Sultan of Gujarat, from 1526 to 1537.
17. From Turkish '*Yeni Cheri*', new troops, 'an organised military force constituting until 1826 the standing army of the Ottoman Empire.' The fleet had a force of 7,000 Janissaries.
18. Now called 'pasha', Turkish officer of high rank.
19. Sulaiman Pasha al-Khadim participated in the Egyptian campaign of the Ottoman Sultan Salim I (1516-17) and was appointed governor of Egypt in 1525. He was 82 years of age when he was appointed to command the naval expedition to Diu. *J. R. A. S.*, 1921, pp. 17-18. See also *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, pp. 12-17.
20. Amir ibn Daud, lord of Aden was invited to Sulaiman Pasha's flagship and there treacherously put to death. While the Amir was held prisoner by Sulaiman Pasha, one of his officers captured Aden. See *J. R. A. S.* (1922), pp. 15-16.
21. One hundred and fifty pieces of Cannon.
22. Antonio da Silveira, brother-in-law of Nuno da Cunha.
23. Flags.
24. Several Portuguese and French writers refer to the snake stone and the popular belief that it is found in the head of a snake (Dalgado, *Glossario Luso-Asiatico*, Vol. II, pp. 201-202). Ovington, however, corroborates Thevenot about the artificial origin of the stone. He says, "The Composition of it is Ashes of burnt Roots, mixt with a kind of Earth, which is found at Diu" (p. 155). The stone is supposed to remove the venom by absorption when applied against the wound. Also see Fryer, Vol. I, pp. 138-139.
25. Nadiad, in Kaira District, 29 miles south-east of Ahmadabad. In the 17th century, it was a large town with cotton and indigo manufactures (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 282-283).
26. Mahmabad or Mahmudabad, in Kaira District, 17 miles south of Ahmadabad.

## CHAPTER XIX

1. One of the twelve provinces into which Akbar's empire was divided; its area was 176 *kos* by 100 *kos*.
2. The correct latitude is 27° 10' N.
3. The Jumna.
4. Allahabad.
5. To make Agra famous by an ancient name.
6. Akbarabad or Agra. No definite information is available regarding the foundation of the city. Tradition ascribes the building of the old fortress named Badalgarh to Badal Singh (1475) on or near the site of which the present fort was built by Akbar in 1566. (*Agra Dist. Gaz.*, p. 137).
7. Claimed.
8. Twenty-five.
9. Square.
10. Rooms.
11. Sports.
12. Which contribute much to the length of the town.
13. Akbar's tomb at Sikandra. It was commenced during the lifetime of the

- emperor and completed by his son and successor Jahangir (E. W. Smith, *Akbar's Tomb, Sikandarali*).
14. Arjumand Banu Begam, better known as Mumtaz Mahal.
  15. François Bernier, physician and traveller (1620-1688). After travelling widely in Europe, Palestine and Egypt he came to Surat, circa 1658. He was in India till 1667. His *Travels* published in 1670 received wide popularity and went through ten editions in different languages before his death. See Bernier (Ed. V. A. Smith), pp. xix-xlii.
  16. The Taj garden has been described by Sleeman, *Rambles* (pp. 317 ff). For gardens in medieval India, see Stuart, *The Gardens of the Great Mughals*, 1913.
  17. This is a mistake. Begun early in 1632, the Taj was completed in January 1643 (Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 30).
  18. As many men as necessary for so great a work.
  19. Jahangir was buried at Shahdara, near Lahore. Tavernier (Vol. I, p. 91) commits the same error when he writes, "When you reach Agra from the Delhi side you meet a large bazaar, close to which there is a garden where the King Jahangir, father of Shahjahan, is interred. Over the gate of this garden you see a painting which represents his tomb covered by a great black pall with many torches of white wax, and two Jesuit Fathers at the ends." The building to which the French travellers refer cannot, however, be identified.
  20. Unpleasant.
  21. However great the aversion he had to it.
  22. Shah Jahan passed the last seven and a half years of his life as a prisoner in Agra Fort where he breathed his last.
  23. That misfortune befell him through Aurangzeb, his third son.
  24. Introduced.
  25. Formed.
  26. This is slightly incorrect, as Shah Jahan died on 22 January, 1666.
  27. The peacock-throne is probably meant.
  28. Jahanara Begam, the favourite daughter of Shah Jahan, and a partisan of Dara, died in 1681. Bernier (p. 199) says she presented Aurangzeb "with a large golden basin, full of precious stones." The story of her death by poison is unfounded, though Tavernier mentions it (Vol. I, pp. 275-276).
  29. Finally.
  30. This is incorrect. Shah Jahan was buried by the side of his wife in the Taj at Agra, and the two tombs were enclosed with a marble screen by Aurangzeb. It is, however, popularly believed that Shah Jahan intended to build another mausoleum in black marble on the opposite bank of the river and connect it with the Taj by a marble bridge. Dara was buried in an unidentified vault in Humayun's tomb.
  31. This need surprise no one.
  32. Mansabdars from Persian *mansab*, office. The mansabdari system was introduced by Akbar. (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, pp. 236-249; Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, Chap. I).
  - 32a. Bernier speaks only of twenty-five or thirty Christian families settled at Agra (p. 286).
  33. In comparison with.
  34. These latter.
  35. For the Dutch factory, see Bernier, pp. 292-293.
  36. We have seen.

## CHAPTER XX

1. As those of the Persians are.
2. *Cabaya*, from Arabic *kaba*, 'a vesture'. The word is not used in India now. (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 137).

3. Convenient.
4. Turkish *arqaliq*, 'a coat with sleeves' (Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 132 and n 3; Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 29).
5. Chhit.
6. 'Jupe' in the French text means 'skirt'.
7. Spreading.
8. For a description of *Cadeby*, see Thevenot, *Travels into the Levant*, Part II, Chap. IX, p. 92.
9. Shawl, Persian and Hindi *shal*.
10. Thin cloth.
11. Kashmir.
12. An obsolete measure of length. English ell=45 inches, the old French ell was about 47 inches.
13. Very thin.
14. The colour of fallen leaves.
15. Read "great" for "the".
16. Sometimes will not weigh.
17. Thevenot devotes Chapter VII of Part II, Book II, of his *Travels* to "Moneys weights and measures" of Persia. "The Toman", he says there, "is worth fifteen *Piastres*, or fifty *Abassis*" (p. 89). Tavernier supports Thevenot (Vol. I, p. 20) and adds, "If you take  $6\frac{1}{2}$  tomans to India you receive for each toman 29 $\frac{1}{2}$  rupees." Also see Fryer Vol. II, p. 139.
18. In front.
19. Whose head-gear closely resembled that kind of turban.
20. Unlike.
21. Persian *pa-posh*, 'foot-garment', slippers. Thevenot (Pt. I, p. 30) writes that Turkish shoes are "made almost like Slippers, the heel is equal to the rest of the sole, only it is shod with a piece of Iron made purposely half round, and these Shoes they called *Paboutches*."
22. Wish to.
23. Difficult enough.
24. Red velvet.
25. Decoration.
26. Chains, necklaces.
27. Set in the bezel.
28. Quite naked. The reference is to the Malabar regions.

## CHAPTER XXI

1. Afford.
2. A great deal.
3. The majority.
4. With raising.
5. The common black buck (Sanskrit *krishnasara*) is meant.
6. From Hindi *sant*, a holy man.
7. Two-ended staff.
8. When they do not wish to use.
9. Involved.
10. Difficult.
11. There are several species of green pigeons in India. See Stuart Baker, *Fauna of British India, Birds*, Vol. V, pp. 180-211. The species meant here is most probably Indian green imperial pigeon, *Muscadivora ænea sylvatica* (pp. 208-209).
12. Hunting and fishing.
- 12a. A similar method of catching waterfowls is described by Terry (Foster,



- Early Travels*, p. 312), and Ovington (p. 162). It is also described in the *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 295.
13. Wait.
  14. Narwar. The mountain is 'a steep scrap of the Vindhya' near the town of the same name in Gwalior State, Central India.
  15. Meru is the Marathi name of Sambar (*Rusa aristotelis*). Dalgado derives it from Sanskrit *mriga* and further opines that this name was invariably given to the Sambar by the Portuguese on account of its large size.
  16. Profit from them.
  17. Pietro Aretino (1492-1556), an Italian author who wrote a set of obscene sonnets to accompany an equally immoral series of drawings by Romano.
  18. Materials.
  19. Skilfully.
  20. Solid.
  21. Wish to surround.
  22. Telugu *Ghurie-ghenza*, ghungchi. See *supra*, Chap. IX, N. 8.
  - 22a. Fatehpur Sikri, 23 miles west of Agra. The word 'Fatehpur' does not mean 'the enjoyment of what one desires', but 'City of Victory' (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XII, pp. 84-86; E. W. Smith, *The Mughal Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri*).
  23. Jahangir was born at Fatehpur Sikri. Akbar was at Agra at the time.
  - 23a. Sikandar Lodi had made Agra his residence. So it was not an insignificant village, as Thevenot suggests, before Akbar's time.
  24. The Buland Darwaza is probably meant though it is a city gate rather than an "entry of Akbar's palace." All the state buildings of the deserted city are still intact.
  25. The cathedral mosque at Fatehpur Sikri (Jama Masjid) has been described by Ferguson as "the glory of Fatehpur Sikri." For details see E. W. Smith, *The Mughal Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri*, Pts. III and IV.
  26. An order of Muslim wandering monks.
  27. Shaikh Salim Chisti known as *Shaikh-ul-Islam* was greatly revered by Akbar and his courtiers. He was an apostolic descendant of Shaikh Farid Shakarganj. The mosque at Sikri was built at his instance by Akbar. He died a few years after its completion and lies buried in the courtyard.
  28. The huge lake formed by constructing a dam across the valley of the Khari Nadi. It supplied water to the city and fed many irrigation canals. The dam however burst while Akbar was still alive. For details see Keene, *Handbook to Delhi, Agra etc.*, pp. 222-223.
  29. Firozabad, in Agra District, United Provinces, so named after Malik Firoz, an officer of Akbar (*Agra Dist. Gaz.*, p. 274). Previously known as Chandwar, it was under the Sarkar of Agra in the Mughal days, *Description Historique et Géographique de l'Inde* by Tieffenthaler, pp. 166, 198.
  30. Sidhpur (?) in Baroda state, famous for the manufacture of Chintzes or coloured cottons.
  31. It is difficult to identify the place. Ball says (Vol. I, p. 31) that this is probably Baglana but this cannot be reconciled with the distance (15 kos) given by Tavernier (Vol. I, p. 71) between Bargant and Bimal (Bhinmal in Marwar state). It is probably Barmer, an historic fortress in Marwar state and capital of an independent tribe during the Mughal period.
  32. Jalor, a town in Jodhpur state in Rajputana.
  33. Bharatpur, capital of the state of the same name in Rajputana. Tavernier (Vol. I, p. 72) describes it as "a very old town where they make woollen carpets," and places it at 12 coss from Agra.
  34. Merta, town in Jodhpur state, Rajputana (Erskine, *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. III A, pp. 203-204).
  35. Ludana, on the Bandi river in Jaipur.
  36. Hindaun, in Jaipur state, Rajputana (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XIII, p. 135).
  37. Kanwa, near Bayana, where the Rajput confederacy led by Rana Sanga was decisively defeated by Babar in 1527.

38. Bayana, ancient town in Bharatpur state (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. VII, p. 137).
39. Sikandra, a village five miles from Agra on the road to Muttra. It derives its name from Sultan Sikandar Lodi. The place is famous on account of Akbar's tomb (*Agra Dist. Gaz.*, pp. 325-331).
40. Obviously Sultan Sikandar Lodi, but Sikandarabad was not his capital city.
41. This is an obvious mistake, for Sultan Salim Shah Sur (1545-1554), better known as Islam Shah, never fought against Akbar. The prince who held Agra when it was captured by Akbar was Adil Shah Sur.
42. Hamida Bano Begam, commonly known as Haji Begam.
43. Sironj, a town in the Tonk State of Rajputana. Situated on the Agra-Deccan road. It was an important place in the Mughal days. Its trade and industry have since completely disappeared.
44. Is it Banganga, commonly called Ganga?
45. Chambal-nadi—river Chambal, which rises on the northern slopes of the Vindhya near Mhow. It joins the Jumna as a tributary in Etawah District.
46. Obviously Tavernier's Iagou-nadi. Ball and Crooke identify Iagou with Jajau between Agra and Dholpur. The river that passes by this place is the Utangan otherwise known as the Banganga.
47. Sengar river, which rises near Ratauli, and leaves Agra district near Kotla. (*Agra Dist. Gaz.*, p. 9).

## CHAPTER XXII

1. Shahjahanabad, so named after Shah Jahan who built the present city of Delhi.
2. Highway.
3. Shaikh or Shah-ki-Sarai, a travellers' resting place at Mathura. (Growse, *Mathura*, p. 118). Thevenot does not mention the city of Mathura though he refers to the temple. He obviously relies on Tavernier (Vol. I, p. 85), who confuses the city with the Sarai and applies the name only to the temple. The earlier traveller also mentions the "asylum for apes."
4. This information is also borrowed from Tavernier who says, "The Jumna then flowed at the foot of the Pagoda. . . . But for some years back the river has taken a northerly course and flows at a good coss distance from the Pagoda." Growse, however, is not inclined to give this statement much credence (*Mathura*, p. 120).
5. Receded.
6. Obviously the Thugs. They are known to have been operating in the Delhi province as early as the days of Jalal-ud-din Khilji.
7. Skill.
8. Heaving sighs.
9. The number is incorrect. Several capital cities have been built and later abandoned round about Delhi. Thevenot obviously attributed one city to the Hindus, a second to the so-called Pathans and the third to Shah Jahan.
10. One after another.
11. The site is certainly very old and is traditionally identified with Indraprastha, the capital of the Pandavas, but King Porus who fought Alexander near the Jhelum had nothing to do with it.
12. Humayun's tomb is one of the most famous extant monuments of Delhi. It probably marks one limit of the town of his time though Thevenot is wrong in calling it the second city.
13. The reference is obviously to the pyramidal structure on which Firuz Tughluq placed the inscribed monolith pillar of Asoka which he removed from Tobra. De Laet refers to the popular belief that the inscription was in Greek character and that the pillar had been built by Alexander. Tom Coryat gave currency to this error with less justification. The language of the inscription

- is Prakrit and the script Brahmi. The pyramid is situated almost midway between Humayun's tomb and Shah Jahan's Red Fort.
14. The Delhi Fort, known also as Lal Qila or Qila Shahjahanabad. For a contemporary account of the fort, see Bernier, pp. 256-258.
  15. Insignia.
  16. Unlike.
  17. Bernier also refers to "two large elephants of stone, placed at either side of one of the principal gates." The two warriors riding the elephants were Jaimal and Patta who defended Chitor with conspicuous valour (Bernier, pp. 256-257). The stone elephants and the two effigies are no longer in the fort. Manucci says that one of the elephants was broken by an infuriated elephant during Aurangzeb's reign (Vol. II, pp. 10-11).
  18. The Diwan-i-Am or the Hall of Public Audience with its pillars is built of red sandstone while the Diwan-i-Khas or the Hall of Private Audience is in white marble. Thevenot borrows this ambiguous name from Bernier (p. 259) who should have known better. Manucci (Vol. II, p. 461) also uses this word to signify the Hall of Public Audience. The Hall of Public Audience has, however, no marble pillars as Thevenot says. For the buildings in the Red Fort see Carr Stephen, *Archaeology of Delhi*.
  19. Hands crossed in front of them.
  20. Diwan-i-Khas or Private Hall is obviously meant. Fergusson describes it as "if not the most beautiful, certainly the most highly ornamented of all Shah Jehan's Buildings."
  21. It is doubtful whether the local people could make so absurd a statement. The person responsible for it is Tavernier (Vol. I, p. 305) who, however, does not mention the source of his information. For his account of the Peacock throne, see Vol. I, pp. 303-305.
  22. Tavernier's estimate is 160,500,000 livres of French money, while Bernier says that "the throne is estimated at forty million *roupies*, worth sixty millions of pounds (livres) or thereabouts" (P. 269).
  23. Convenient.
  24. The Jami Masjid of Delhi. See Carr Stephen, *op. cit.*, pp. 250 ff, and Bernier, pp. 278-280.
  25. Bernier has not failed to describe Jahanara Begam's serai (pp. 280-281). It was demolished soon after the Mutiny.
  26. Tavernier also mentions (Vol. I, p. 79) the two principal streets (Chandni Chowk and Faiz Bazar).
  27. Amongst its beautiful sights.
  28. Inconvenient.
  29. Like.

## CHAPTER XXIII

1. Rounded iron.
2. Spherical.
3. It is a dagger commonly known as *katar*. For illustration see Egerton, *A Description of Indian and Oriental Armour*, plate X.
4. Fail to have.
5. Smaller.
6. This name does not occur in Irvine's list (pp. 81-85). Is it by any chance *sang* (a kind of spear)? Or is it *zaghnol*, a battle-axe with a pointed and two-edged head? (Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 80).
7. This reference to 'pistol' by Thevenot is interesting as the prevailing belief is that it was unknown in India earlier than the 18th century. See Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-112.
8. See Irvine, *op. cit.*, Chap. X, p. 114 where an account is given of the founding of a cannon by Ustad Quli Khan.
9. Contrivance.



## CHAPTER XXIV

1. Birds of prey.
2. Properly speaking *elks* do not belong to India. The sambar deer is meant.
3. Courageous.
4. Uzbegs.
- 4a. Daylight.
5. Light.
6. Hindi 'dana' literally 'grain'. The *Ain* (Vol. I, pp. 134-35) gives details of a horse's fodder. "In winter, they give boiled peas or vetch ; in summer, grain. The daily allowance includes two sers of flour, and one and a half sers of sugar. In winter, before the horse gets fresh grass, they give it half a ser of *ghi*. Two *dams* are daily allowed for hay; but hay is not given, when fresh grass is available."
7. Trappings.
8. Obviously yak tails or *qutas* (*Ain*, Vol. I, p. 128).
9. Bows of the saddle.
10. Give the finest effect in the world.
11. Other travellers also state that Ceylon elephants were held in greater esteem. See Bernier, p. 277 and Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 221.
12. Rogue elephants are notoriously dangerous animals but I do not know of any instance of their eating their victim's flesh.
13. A false step.
14. Expensive.
15. Pistole, from French *pistolet* foreign gold coin, specially Spanish. Sir Isaac Newton valued it at 16s. 9d. (Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 328).
16. Possess.
17. Meghdambar. Bernier describes it as 'a small house, or square wooden tower, gilt and painted' (p. 370). The *Ain* (Vol. I, p. 129) defines it as "an awning, to shade the elephant driver, an invention by His Majesty."
18. The keeper will.
19. Various.
20. When they have once been well-entangled.
21. Moves back and forth.
22. For an interesting account of capturing wild elephants in a *kheda* see Sanderson, *Thirteen years among the Wild Beasts of India*.

## CHAPTER XXV

1. More respectable.
2. Well enough.
3. The personages have suitable attitudes.
4. Thevenot here repeats Bernier's criticism who says, "The *Indian* painters are chiefly deficient in just proportions, and in the expression of the face" (p. 255). The Mughal portraits were, but for rare exceptions, always drawn in profile.
5. Quite well.
6. Well paid.
7. Compare Bernier (p. 255) who writes, "These unhappy men are contemned, treated with harshness, and inadequately remunerated for their labour."
8. Add to.
9. "The Chinese have a peculiar alloy of copper consisting of copper 40-4, zinc 25-4, nickel 21-6, iron 2-6, and occasionally some silver and arsenic. It seems white or silver-like in the finish and is hence called *pai-t'un* (white copper). In Anglo-Indian it is *tootnague*, Tamil *tutunagam*, Portuguese *tutanaga*" (Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 555, quoted by Dalgado, Vol. II). This alloy was used both by the Portuguese of Goa and the English of Bombay for their coins.

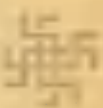
10. Because.
11. Citrouille in French means a pumpkin, *Cucurbita pepo* or is it *Citrullus vulgaris*?
12. A kind of comb having rows of metallic teeth or serrated ridges, used in currying a horse.
13. Cited.
14. May be seen walking.

## CHAPTER XXVI

1. In Part II, Book I, p. 35, Thevenot says that the word literally means 'ornament'. If so, the correct spelling should be *Zinat*. The festival at Aleppo lasted for seven days.
2. A Hindu practice which was adopted by Akbar. See Roe, pp. 378-379; Terry, p. 376; Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 301-302; Bernier, p. 270; Ovington, pp. 109-110.
3. Precious stones.
4. Afterwards.
5. Festivals.
6. Scarcely lessens.
7. Far more frugal.
8. A dancing girl, from Portuguese *Bailadetra* (Hobson-Jobson, p. 75).
9. Benares.
10. Shalamar Garden near village Haidarpur. Bernier describes it as "the King's country-house, a handsome and noble building, but not to be compared to Fontainebleau, Saint Germain, or Versailles."

## CHAPTER XXVII

1. This is a mistake, for Ajmer lies to the south-west of Delhi.
2. The subah of Lahore. Manucci says that the province was called the "Punjab" (Vol. II, p. 424).
3. Bundi state in the south-east of Rajputana. It was a part of the subah of Ajmer under Akbar (*Ain*, Vol. II, p. 268 and note 1).
4. Jaisalmer state in western Rajputana. It was a part of Ajmer subah. (*Ain*, Vol. II, p. 271).
5. 'Soret' of the European travellers may be identified with Sorath in Kathiawar. But it was not under the subah of Ajmer. Abu-l-Fazl mentions a place named Sojhat in the subah of Ajmer (*Ain*, Vol. II, p. 281).
6. Ajmer, an important city in Rajputana and the administrative head-quarters of the British province of Ajmer-Merwara.
7. The stages are :—Agra to Fatehpur-Sikri, Barambad (a village in Bayana tahsil, Bharatpur state), Hindaun 75 miles south-east of Jaipur (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XIII, p. 135), Mughal Sarai ('Mogulserai' of Rennell's map, 1788 reproduced in Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, Vol. I, Plate 6), Lalsot (town in Jaipur state, *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, p. 134), Chatsu or Chaksu (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. X, p. 182), Piplo in Tonk state, Mozabad (Jaipur state), Bandar-Sindri in Kishangarh state, Manderi and Ajmer.
8. Ajmer lies in 26° 27" N. Latitude.
9. Taragarh hill, the highest point of the Aravalli range in Ajmer-Merwara district, 2,855 feet above sea-level (See *Rajputana Gazetteer*, p. 448).
10. Taragarh believed to be built by Raja Aja, who is probably to be identified with Ajayadeva, son of Prithviraja I.
11. Ajmer, one of the earliest acquisitions of Akbar, was probably occupied by the Mughals in 1557-58. For the controversy regarding the date of its capture, see Harbilas Sarda, *Ajmer: Historical and Descriptive*, pp. 153-54.



12. Haji Khan, a slave of Sultan Salim Shah Sur, held Ajmer before its annexation by Akbar.
13. Khwaja Muinuddin Hasan Chisti (1142-1236).
14. The tomb of Khwaja Muinuddin Chisti is popularly known as the *Dargah Khwaja Sahib*. The shrine contains a mosque by Akbar and another by Shah Jahan built of marble. For an account of the annual *Urs*, see *Rajputana Gazetteer*, pp. 488-489.
15. Employed.
16. In fulfilment of his vow Akbar walked to the tomb of the Chisti saint at Ajmer in 1570. (*Akbar Nama*, Vol. II, pp. 510-11; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. V, p. 334; Briggs, Vol. II, p. 233; Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, p. 8).
17. Impulsive.
18. Slowly.
19. Salim, Murad and Daniyal were all born at Sikri.
20. Nauroz, the Persian New Year's day. The festivities lasted for nineteen and not nine days as some European travellers have suggested.
21. Jahangir spent three years at Ajmer from November, 1613 to November, 1616 and all the festivals were as usual celebrated during the emperor's stay there.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

1. Allowed.
2. Bernier also refers to this fair (p. 272). For a description of the fair in Akbar's time, see *Ain*, i, pp. 276-277. Similar fairs (*meena bazar*) used to be held at Lucknow as late as the 19th century.
3. Many had an opportunity while selling.
4. Bargain for.
5. The remark within the bracket is the translator's.
6. Kanchani from *kanchan*, 'a dancing-girl'. According to Bernier (p. 273) the word signifies 'the gilded, the blooming'. See Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of N. W. P. and Oudh*, Vol. IV, p. 364, for the *Kanchan* caste.
7. Held.
8. An opportunity.
9. Trifles.
10. However good a humour they put him in, he received presents from them as from the others.
11. Magnificently.

## CHAPTER XXIX

1. The Musk deer is an animal of the upper Himalayan ranges and is not to be found below 8,000 feet level. The animal referred to is very probably the *mashk billi* or civet cat. Dellon refers to the trade in civet perfume (*op. cit.*, p. 112) and Linschoten says "civet is much found in India" (Vol. II, pp. 95-96). Sir Thomas Roe mentions both civet and civet cats as articles of trade and he says that plenty of civet was available at Agra (pp. 23, 116 and 320).
2. The animal does not live long.
3. The black-boned poultry has naturally attracted notice of more than one western traveller and forms a subject of comment among modern annotators. It occurs in different parts of India and is mentioned in at least three Tamil works on medicine. Linschoten and François Pyrard found it at Mozambique in Africa. It is not certain whether Thevenot and Careri saw the fowl they



describe. Thevenot may have derived his information from Bernier who says that the skin of the bird is quite black, but is silent about the colour of the bone (p. 251). Thevenot and Careri, however, observe that the bone as well as the skin is black. Careri says nothing about the colour of the flesh, which, according to Thevenot, is "very white". Fryer, who first saw the bird at Tanore in Malabar, corroborates Thevenot. "The outward skin", he says "was a perfect *Negro*, the Bones also being as black as Jet; under the Skin nothing could be whiter than the Flesh, more tender, or more grateful" (Vol. I, p. 140). James Forbes found this fowl abounding in Calicut and hints that the flesh was white in contrast to the black skin and bone of the bird (*Oriental Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 205). Linschoten and Pyard, on the other hand, are definite that the flesh also is black. Linschoten says, "There are certain Hennes that are so blacke both of feathers, flesh, and bones, that being sodden they seeme as black as inke" (Vol. I, pp. 25-26). Pyard observes, "There is also good store of fowls, very good and delicate, but all of black plumage; and the flesh is the same, whether cooked or raw. This is strange to those who have not been used to see and eat it; it seems as if the flesh had been cooked with some black dye, and the soup is the same" (Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 231). The late Dr Burnell, annotating Linschoten, roundly contradicted both the Dutch and the French travellers. He notes, "This is incorrect; the flesh is white, like that of other fowls" (Vol. I, p. 25), and again, referring to Pyard, "but this is incorrect; the black plumage is an accident, and the flesh is white; the bones are black" (Vol. I, p. 26). William Crooke supports Burnell and notes, "Fryer does not fall into the error of Linschoten and Pyard de Laval who say that the flesh is black" (Fryer, Vol. I, p. 140, n. 1). Vincent Smith also seems to be of the same view (Bernier, p. 251, n. 1). It might be suggested that the flesh of the African "nigger fowls" (Bernier calls it 'Ethiopian') was black while that of the Indian variety was white, but Linschoten says that the same bird was to be found in India also.

I referred the question to Mr. A. J. Macdonald, Officer-in-charge, poultry Research Section, Indian Veterinary Research Institute, Izatnagar, and he writes: "I came across birds with black feathers and dark flesh in Madras and the North West Frontier Province. It is not quite correct to say that the flesh is black but the skin and flesh are pigmented to give a purplish black colouration. It would probably be best to say that the flesh and skin are pigmented purplish black. The bones are also much darker than normal. There is also a common belief that the flesh of these birds has a special medicinal value." Obviously the comments of Burnell, Crooke and Smith were based on insufficient information. Answering to further enquiries from me Mr. Macdonald wrote: "The pigmentation mentioned in the previous correspondence has no connection with feeding. It would be hardly correct to state that the birds with dark flesh belong to any one breed, for one characteristic does not make a breed." I may here quote also from a letter I received from Dr. B. N. Chopra of the Zoological Survey of India, "In *Ibis* Ser. 7, Vol. VI, p. 360 (1900) an entirely black specimen of the common Jungle Red Fowl has been described from Negros in the Philippines, but there is no mention about the colour of its bones . . . . . Several years ago I also remember having come across a fowl of this kind in Kashmir. Its skin was entirely black and the bones were of a smoky colour. I cannot, however, be quite sure after such a long lapse of time." I think that the discrepancy between Thevenot, Careri and Fryer on the one side and Linschoten and Pyard on the other may be explained by the difference in pigmentation referred to by Mr. Macdonald. Not being a scientist I cannot say whether the term melanism may be appropriately used here. As the birds with black skin, bone, flesh and feather do not belong to any particular breed and as the degree of darkness apparently differs in different individuals it is quite possible that in some specimens the pigmentation occurred in skin and bone only while in others it affected the flesh as well.

About the medicinal properties of its flesh I received the following communication from Dewan Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachariar: Re. the pullet whose feathers, flesh and bones are all black, "It is called 'Kannikkozhi or Vidaikkozhi'. I have been able to get at Bhoga Muni's *Vaithiyam-700* (Ezhumuru) in which stanzas 388 to 392 inclusive are devoted to the preparation of the *churana* or *churna* known as *kukkula-churna*, which should be taken for a period of six weeks or 45 days. The pullet which should be mature in growth should be brought, its legs, hair and head should be removed and it should be opened on the back and intestines and liver removed and mixed with substances like rocksalt, *kayam* (either asafoetida or pepper), garlic, black cumin, ammonia etc., and boiled with a number of other substances and reduced to *churana* and a little powder taken morning and evening. It is said to cure gastritis of the stomach, anaemia, jaundice, cough, dropsy, diseases of the lungs and rheumatism, colic, etc."

4. Where the majority have sexual relations.
5. Almost all the foreign travellers bear testimony to child-marriages in India.
- 5a. Many of the roads.
6. Cast them down.
7. A frame.
8. Hindi *khichri*, "a mess of rice, cooked with butter and *dal* and flavoured with a little space, shred onion, and the like" (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 476). The word is not derived from the name of any grain used in preparing the dish.
9. Moreover.
- 9a. This is borrowed from Mandelslo who writes:—"Most of the *Sallpeter* which is sold in *Guzuratta* comes from *Asmer*, sixty Leagues from *Agra*, and they get it out of Land that hath lain long fallow. The blackest and fattest ground yields most of it. . . ." (p. 66).
10. According to Manucci the province paid an annual revenue of 17 lakhs of Rupees (Vol. II, p. 425).

### CHAPTER XXX

1. The modern Tatta in Sind, a taluk in the Karachi district. Throughout the 17th century it was a busy entrepôt but decayed during the later half of the 18th century. In Akbar's reign Tatta was a sarkar of the subah of Multan. (*Ain*, Vol. II, p. 336 ff.).
2. The Arabian Sea.
3. Seistan, or Sistân, the ancient *Sacastane*. Part of it is Persian territory and part belongs to Afghanistan.
4. Jalaluddin Mangbarni, Shah of Khwarizm (Khiva), 1220-31. In his flight from his own territories he had come as far as the Indus and was defeated on the banks of that river (1221 A.D.) by Chingiz Khan.
5. The ruling house of Khwarizm or Khiva founded by Qutbuddin Muhammad in 1097.
6. Debal or Debal Sindhi. The position of this famous port, "the emporium of the Indus during the middle ages", is a matter of dispute. Abul-Fazl identifies it with Tattah. "Sir H. Elliot places Debal at Karachi" (*Ain*, Vol. II, p. 337 and n. 1). Foster (*The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India*, p. 75, n.) writes, "Diul-Sind was the name given by the Portuguese to Lahribandar, the port of Tatta in the Indus delta." De Laet (p. 3) mentions that it was about 15 miles from the sea. It appears that "Debal occupied a site between Karachi and Thatha" (Crow cited in Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, ed. Majumdar, p. 341).
7. Trade.
8. Pleasant.
9. Lahari-Bandar or Lari-Bandar, ancient port of Sind near Debal, which is now in ruins. "The present port of the western half of the (Indus) Delta

is Dharaja, which is only a few miles to the east of Lari Bandar" (Cunningham, p. 346). Ibn Battuta in 1333 describes it as "a fine town on the coast where the river of Sind discharges itself into the ocean. It possesses a large harbour, visited by men from Yemen, Fars, and elsewhere" (Ibn Battuta, trans. Gibb, p. 187).

10. *Paiki* in Hindi from Sanskrit *paryanka* (Portuguese *palanchino*). For a description, see Chapter XXXI; also Ovington, p. 152 and Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 37-38.
11. Conveyance.
12. If it come to lean in some bad place.

## CHAPTER XXXI

1. Conveyance.
2. Bamboo.
3. Surrounded.
4. Compensate.

## CHAPTER XXXII

1. Bukkur (Bakhar), fortified island in the river Indus, in Sukkur district, Sind. During the middle ages, owing to its insular position, it was a stronghold of some importance and "frequently a bone of contention between different States" (See *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. IX, pp. 46-47).
2. The Indus and its tributaries, Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi and Sutlej.
3. Head-quarters of the Multan district in the Punjab. It was the capital of a province of the same name in the Mughal days.
4. Trade.
5. The reference is to the galls of *Tamarix articulata* (known variously as *faras*, *farash*, etc. in the Punjab) from which a dye is obtained and which are collected and sold in the bazars. See *Gazetteer of the Multan District* (1884), p. 10; Watt, Vol. VI, Part III, pp. 409-410.
6. More correctly, 30° 12' North.
7. Kahrur, also spelt Khardar, south-east of Multan, reputed to be the site of the battle between Vikramaditya and the Sakas in 79 A.D. (Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 277). Abu-l Fazl (*Ain*, Vol. II, p. 329) mentions this town under the sarkar of Multan.
8. Khanewal (?) in the Kabirwala tahsil of Multan district.
9. Probably Sitpur now in the Alipur tahsil of Muzaffargarh district. It was once famous for paper manufacture. "A certain amount of *Kamangari* work—painting over varnished wood or paper is applied to bows, saddles, paper, shields and toys." (*Punjab Provincial Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 256).
10. Compare Tavernier who, writing about Multan, says, "Numerous Baladins and Baladines, who hail from this town, spread themselves in divers parts of Persia" (Vol. I, p. 74).
11. Making profit.
12. Khatri caste of northern India claims Kshatriya descent, but is a mercantile caste (See Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N. W. F. P.*, Vol. II, p. 501 ff.). This caste had its origin in the Punjab as the author correctly points out, but is found in large numbers in other parts of India also (Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the N. W. P. and Oudh*, Vol. III, pp. 264 ff; Hobson-Jobson, p. 482).
13. The reference is to the famous temple of the sun which was one of the earliest buildings in the Multan fort but of which no trace now remains. It was intact when the famous Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang passed through the city and Alberuni says that the idol "was of wood and covered



with red Cordova leather." According to the *Chach-nama*, Muhammad bin Kasim in 712 A.D. found "an idol made of Gold, and its two eyes were bright red rubies" (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, p. 206). The temple was probably destroyed sometime in the 11th century but was restored later. In Thevenot's time (1666) it was still standing, but shortly afterwards it was pulled down by Aurangzeb who built a Jami Masjid on its site. The Sikhs in their turn converted it into a powder magazine which was blown up by the British in 1848. (MacLagan, *Gazetteer of the Multan District*, p. 336 ff.).

14. Is of very considerable importance.

### CHAPTER XXXIII

1. The Timurid rulers of India long contended with Safavid princes of Persia for its possession on account of its strategic and commercial importance derived from its geographical situation. Kandahar commands the main road from India to Kabul and Herat.
2. Abbas II recaptured Kandahar in 1649, and all attempts to regain it on the part of Shah Jahan proved futile.
3. We get a different account of the death of the lady in a letter from John Lewis and Thomas Best at Gombroon to the President and Council at Surat dated October 19, 1648. (*The English Factories in India, 1646-1650*, p. 218). "The 11th instant wee had news in this place that the King, being weary of his grandmothers accustomed presumption over him, not considering that hee was now growne to more maturity, to be freed thereof commands that she, together with the ould Sheckles loving mother, should bee poysoned; which was accordingly put in execution."
4. Balkh, now called Wazirabad.
5. The correct position is 31° 27'N.
6. Lacks.
7. Claim.
8. Of the neighbourhood.
9. Trade.
10. Part II, Book II, Chapter XIV, pp. 110-111.
11. Part II, Book II, Chapter XI, pp. 102-103.
12. Light.
13. Mr. Kohzad, Director of Archaeology, Kabul Museum informs me that Peria is likely to be Parian in the Upper Panjshir river valley, while Col. A. S. Lancaster is of opinion that Peria is in the Ghor district, north-east of present day Farah.
14. Not traceable on modern maps.
15. Not traceable.

### CHAPTER XXXIV

1. Hindukush, also known as the Indian Caucasus.
2. From Zabul, which according to Abul-Fazl (*Ain*, Vol. II, p. 408) was another name of Ghazni. Jarrett in a footnote (*Ain*, II, p. 115) mentions that this appellation includes "Kabul and the adjacent territory as far as Ghazna and even beyond."
3. Add "It was formerly under the rule of the Persians."
4. Rivers Kabul and Kurram, the former of which joins the Indus near Attock (See Thornton, Vol. I, pp. 316-318 and 420; *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 246 ff; XVI, p. 48).
5. Kabul was for some time Babar's capital. Humayun made it his headquarters prior to his return to India. His three immediate successors had resorted there from time to time.

6. Holi, the Hindu carnival which is celebrated for two (sometimes more) days before the full moon of *Phalguna* (corresponding with February-March).
7. The reference is to Kansa's dread of Krishna and the evil emissaries he sent to encompass the death of the divine child.
8. Trace.

## CHAPTER XXXV

1. Kashmir was conquered by Akbar in 1586 from Yakub Khan the last of the Chak rulers.
2. It has received the waters discharged from a Lake.
3. Obviously the Jhelum (and not the Chenab), on the banks of which the capital city Srinagar stands, is meant. The river passes through the Wular lake and after traversing the level plain runs for many miles through a deep gorge between the mountains of the Kazinag and Pir Panjal ranges. It does not however go as far west as Attock but joins the Chenab at Trimmu. The Sindh which falls into the Jhelum at Shadipur is probably confused with the Indus or Sindhu. The joint river joins the Ravi and the Sutlej near Sidhu and at Madwala respectively and then falls into the Indus at Mithankot.
4. Kabul river.
5. Again wrong. The Jhelum was known to the Muslim writers variously as the Bihat, Wihat or Bihatah, undoubtedly mispronunciation of its old Sanskrit form *Vitasta*. Its modern Kashmiri name is Veth (*Punjab Provincial Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 193).
6. Srinagar. The city is situated in 34° 5' N. Latitude and 74° 50' E. Longitude. (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 99-105).
7. Compare Bernier (p. 398) who says "the houses, although for the most part of wood, are well-built and consist of two or three stories" and refers to the gardens as well as a "canal communicating with the lake."
8. Omit "lovely".
9. Very likely the Shalimar which is specifically mentioned by Bernier (pp. 399-400).
10. For "that" read "because".
11. Yusuf Khan, son of Ali Khan Chak, lost his throne to a rival, Sayyid Mubarak, and took asylum with Akbar. A counter-revolution restored him to power for a short while but he had ultimately to yield to an invading army from Delhi. He later entered the Mughal army and served under Man Singh in Orissa and Bengal. (*Ain*, Vol. I, pp. 478-480).
12. Yakub Khan son of Yusuf Khan became king for a brief period after his father's submission to the Mughals. *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 480.
13. Defiles.
14. Passes.
15. Guidance.
16. Bhimbar pass in the Pir Panjal range. Abul-Fazl writes "Twenty-six different roads lead into Hindustan but those by *Bhimbar* and *Pakli* are the best and are generally practicable on horseback." (*Ain*, Vol. II, p. 347).
17. To amuse that of prince Jacob.

## CHAPTER XXXVI

1. A good hundred leagues.
2. The correct latitude is 31° 35' North.
3. The Ravi river, the *Hydraotes* of Arrian, the *Parushni* of the Vedas, and the *Iravati* of classical Sanskrit authors. (*Punjab Provincial Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pp. 190-191).
4. Ptolemy in the French text and not Pliny.

5. Acesines, Vedic *Asikni* is the Chenab river; Cophis or the *Kubha* is the Kabul river, Hydraphes is the *Vitasta* or *Jhelum*; Zaradras is the *Sataḍru*, modern *Sutlej*; and Hispalis is the *Vipasa* or *Beas*.
6. The Behat is the Muslim name for *Jhelum*, *Canab* is probably a corruption of *Chenab*, *Sind* is the *Indus* and *Van* may be the *Beas*.
7. This evidently refers to the change in the course of the river *Ravi*. Thevenot's statement is based on that of *Bernier* (pp. 383-384).
8. Both *Akbar* and *Jehangir* held their court at *Lahore* but it can hardly be asserted that they preferred it to *Delhi* and *Agra*. *Bernier* says: "Unlike the buildings of *Delhi* and *Agra*, the houses here are very lofty, but the court having resided during the last twenty years or more in one of those two cities most of the houses in *Lahor* are in a ruinous state." (P. 384). *Thomas Coryat* found *Agra*, though "a verie great citie; in everie respect much inferior to *Lahore*" (*Foster, Early Travels*, p. 244).
9. The reference is obviously to the fort built by *Akbar* about 1568.
10. According to *Manucci* also the city of *Lahore* had twelve gates which he mentions by name (Vol. II, pp. 185-186). *William Finch* corroborates this. (*Foster, Early Travels*, p. 161). *Dr Vogel* suggests that *Thevenot* might have copied *Herbert*, for all the twelve gates were of the fortified city. See *Tile-Mosaics of the Lahore Fort*, p. 17.
11. See *Bernier*, p. 384.
- 11a. The paintings do not exist to-day. They were first noticed by *William Finch* in 1611. (*Foster, Early Travels*, pp. 162-64). *De Laet* and *Herbert* (pp. 69-70) in their turn copied *Finch's* account of *Lahore* and *Thevenot's* statement is obviously based on that of *Herbert*. *Thevenot* is unfair to *Jahangir*. *Jesus* is one of the *Prophets* highly revered by the *Muslims* and *Hazrat Maryam* (*Mary*) also shares their respect. See *Vogel, op. cit.*, pp. 63-64 and *Payne, Jahangir and the Jesuits*, Pt. I, Chapter VIII.
12. The castle was built by *Akbar* and not by *Humayun* as *Thevenot* asserts.
13. See *Manucci*, Vol. II, p. 424.
14. *Bernier* estimates the revenue of *Lahore* at 2,46,95,000 (p. 456) and *Manucci* at 2,24,53,302 *Rupees* (Vol. II, p. 416) per year.
15. Sign.
16. Ash tree (*Flaxinus excelsior*).
17. *Thanesar* or *Thaneshwar* in *Karnal* district of the *Punjab* about 100 miles from *Delhi*.
18. *Bernier* (p. 316) also refers to these vows of 'chastity, poverty, and submission'. The word *Vartia* is probably a corruption of Sanskrit *vratin*. Contemporary travellers' accounts leave little doubt that the reference is to the *Jains*.
19. They refuse it.
20. Take nothing but what is cooked.

## CHAPTER XXXVII

1. *Oudh*. The boundaries of this province (*subah*) as given in the *Ain* (Vol. II, pp. 170 ff.) are as follows: "To the east is *Behar*, to the north, the mountains, to the south, *Manikpur*, and to the west, *Kanauj*." The province was named after its chief town "*Avadh*", modern *Ajodhya* or Sanskrit *Ayodhya*.
2. *Berar*. The identification however is doubtful. *Berar* is not watered by the tributaries of the *Ganges* and it is not unlikely that the contiguous province of *Bihar*, *Bernier's* "*Beara*", is meant as *Thevenot* mentions *Berar* in Chapter XLII.
3. Probably he means the *Gakkar* country which was outside the limits of the *Mughal* province of *Oudh*. *Kakori* in *Sarkar Lucknow* is mentioned by *Abu-l-Fazl* (*Ain*, Vol. II, p. 93), but it is doubtful whether *Thevenot* knew the place.



4. May be identified with Bangash in N.W. Kohat. The Bangash Afghans settled in the area round modern Farrukhabad much later.
5. Nagarkot or Kangra.
6. De Laet (p. 12) describes it as a province, whose capital is "Hardwair" (Hardwar) lying to the south of Nagarkot. Siba is now in Kangra, Punjab. In Baffin's map of Indostan Siba is placed between Banchish and Pitan.
7. In Baffin's map Gor is placed at the north-eastern limit of India. De Laet's Gor may safely be identified with Gaur, the capital of the province of the same name. But if Varad is identified with Berar, Gor may be Garah near modern Jubbulpore which is much nearer Berar than Gaur.
8. In Baffin's map Pitan is located due north of Patna and may therefore be identified with Pattan in Nepal, but Baffin's map is full of inaccuracies and should not be treated as a reliable guide. Pitan may be the Patna State in Chhattishgarh district, if Varad is identified with Berar.
9. Gondwana, tract in Central Province and Central India. Baffin places it north of Bengal but the capital is correctly named Karahkatank or Garahkatanga.
10. The temple of Devi (Mahamaya) in the lower suburb (called Bhawan) of Nagarkot (Kangra) "ranks among the oldest and most wealthy shrines in India." Both Nagarkot and Jwalamukhi are outside the territorial limits of Oudh. The temple of Nagarkot dates back to very old times and was pillaged by Sultan Mahmud. Abu-l-Fazl refers to the sacrifice of tongues made by pilgrims here and their miraculous regrowth (*Ain*, Vol. II, pp. 312-313). De Laet (p. 12) and Terry (in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 294) also mention this practice. Also see William Finch (in Foster, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-180) who calls the goddess "Je or Durga".
11. Jwalamukhi, in Kangra district, Punjab. De Laet also calls it Callamaka "which is also a celebrated place of pilgrimage", he says "for every day flames are seen to break forth from amongst some high rocks where there is a spring of cold water" (p. 12). Also see Terry (in Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 294).
12. *Mata*, 'the mother'. This is the name mentioned by De Laet and Terry. Abu-l-Fazl says that the goddess was known as Mahamaya.
13. Bara Bangahal. Balaghat literally means upper passes. The Jwalamukhi temple is situated in the Bara Bangahal ridge.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII

1. The identification of this province is fraught with no little difficulty. Sir William Foster (*Early Travels*, p. 294) whose opinion is not to be lightly treated has identified it with the modern state of Bikaner in Rajputana. De Laet (pp. 11-12), Terry (Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 294), Roe (p. 493) and Thevenot all agreed that the chief city was Bikaner. According to the first three writers the city is to the west of the Ganges. But Thevenot asserts that it lies not only to the east of Delhi but also includes Udese. Baffin locates Udessa with its capital *Jekana* on the eastern frontier of Indostan. He makes a separate province of Orixia. I wonder whether Udese has anything to do with Sanskrit *Udichi*? But Thevenot mentions among its principal towns Sambal, which according to De Laet, Roe and Terry formed a separate province and is in the modern Moradabad district, United Provinces and Raseapoor, capital of Roe's Jesual, which Sir William Foster identifies with Jaswan in Hoshiarpur district. Baffin who has contributed substantially to later geographical confusion places Jeswall and Rajapore, north of Bengal between Sambal and Mevat! Where to locate Becar, the last province on the eastern limit of the empire, which has for its capital Bikaner (on the western banks of the Ganges!) and has for its principal towns Sambal in the Moradabad district of U. P. and Rajapur, which Sir William Foster places in the Punjab and Blochmann locates in C. P.? Obviously such a province did not exist in reality. Baffin's Bakar and Thevenot's Becar cannot be identical,

2. Doab. As Becar is placed east of Delhi probably the Ganges-Jumna doab is meant.
3. It is also spelt as Jesual. De Laet says "It lies to the east of Patna and marches with Bengal on the south-east" (p. 14). Foster (p. 295, n. 4) identifies the place with Jaswan in Hoshiarpur District. Van den Broucke (cited in De Laet, p. 14, n. 23) puts Jesual east of Morang in the Himalayan tract.
4. Probably Orissa, as the capital is Jekanat i.e. Jagannath.
5. De Laet, Roe and Terry wrongly make a province of it. It was only a sarkar in Akbar's time, now in the Moradabad district of U. P.
6. May be Mainpuri in the district of the same name in Agra division, U. P. Finch mentions "Menepore 20 kosses from Allahabad amongst the river Ganges" (Foster, p. 178) which Foster identifies with Manihpur. Moll (*India*, p. 251) writes "the chief town of Sambal is Minapour, in the latitude of 27 degrees."
7. Rajpur, capital of Jesual. For its identification see n. 1, *supra*.
8. Probably a corruption of Jagannath the chief city of Udesse.
9. Bikaner, the capital of the state of the same name.
10. These are included.
11. A confusion probably with the common Hindu belief in *chaturasiti yoni* or 84 forms of life through which the soul has to pass before it attains salvation. In Bengal the castes in common parlance are estimated at 36. Hutton says (*Caste in India*, p. 128) "2378 (castes) were actually counted at the Indian Census of 1901 some numbering millions, others only a very few individuals. To say that there are some 3000 different castes in India is probably to run little risk of exaggeration."
12. Kshatriya or Rajput.
13. The reference here is to the Khatri caste of northern India.
14. Sanskrit Sudra—the fourth caste of the Hindus.
15. Probably Kahars (?) or more likely Kolis who used to carry palanquins who still carry on the old vocation.
16. Banjaras (Vanjaras), a tribe, mainly nomadic, of grain and salt dealers and carriers. They used to move in large hordes with their cattle from one part of the country to another and to supply provision to the armies on march. The Banjaras were very much in evidence during the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries when the fighting forces depended mostly on them for regular supply of food grains. Wilson derives the word from Sanskrit *vanij* "trade" and *kara*, doer. There are various Anglo-Indian corrupt forms e.g., Brinjarry, Binjaree, Bunjaree, etc. (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 114).
17. Artisans.
18. Pariah, Paraiyan. A low caste of Hindus in southern India. Some scholars derive the word from Tamil *parai*, "a drum", but this has been questioned (E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vi, 77 *et seq.*). The Pariah was condemned to a very low status in the Hindu caste system on account of his filthy habits (e.g. eating carrion etc.) but he is not, as was commonly believed, an outcaste and his was by no means the lowest caste either (*Hobson-Jobson*, pp. 678-680; Risley, *op. cit.*, p. 139).
19. Dher or Dhed are the scavengers and their position is one of the lowest in the Hindu society. "If he looks at a water jar he pollutes its contents; if you touch him by accident, you must bathe" (Risley, pp. 138-139).
20. Halalkhor, sweepers. They are so termed because they consider every food lawful (*halal*) (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 409; Tavernier, Vol. II, pp. 145-146). Abu-l Fazl (*Ain*, Vol. I, p. 139) writes: "Sweepers are called in Hindustan *Halalkhur*; His Majesty brought this name *en vogue*."
21. Dirtiness.
22. Leather-workers.
23. Scavengers.
24. "Of Office" is the translator's addition.
25. Explanation.
26. Dirty.

27. Bairagi from Sanskrit *vairagin*, 'one devoid of passion'. A Hindu religious mendicant, of Vaishnava persuasion, but the term is applied indiscriminately to Hindu recluses of all sects and orders (Thurston, Vol. I, pp. 130-133; Russell, Vol. II, pp. 93 ff.).
28. Dislike.
29. Kurmis or Kunbis. A caste of cultivators claiming Kshatriya origin. The name is said to be derived from the Sanskrit *krishi*, cultivation, or from *kurma*, the tortoise incarnation of Vishnu (Russell, Vol. IV, p. 55 ff.).
30. A Greek neo-platonist of the third century A.D.
31. The four Vedas, *viz.*, the Rigveda, the Samaveda, the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda.
32. They believe only in one.
33. The Hindus have a story of the deluge and they also believe in the descent from a common ancestor, Manu.
34. The doctrine of transmigration of soul was known in one form or other in many parts of the world. In India it is not limited to Hinduism only but it forms an important part of the Buddhist and the Jaina creeds as well.
35. A famous Greek philosopher who lived and taught in the 6th century B.C. There is no reason to believe that India borrowed the doctrine of metempsychosis from Pythagoras or his disciples.
36. Dasaratha.
37. Kausalya.
38. Sita, the ideal Hindu wife.
39. The Church of Nossa Senhora dos Remedios is situated midway between Bassein and Agasi and many miracles are attributed to the Lady after whom it is named. Da Cunha (pp. 162-4) says that it is the largest parish church in the Thana District and it was rebuilt in almost the same style as the original one burnt by Kakaji about 1690. Careri visited this church after it was rebuilt (Book I, Chap. III).

## CHAPTER XXXIX

1. A corruption of *Illahabas* or *Ilahabad*, the modern Allahabad. The boundaries of the province in Mughal times have been described in the *Ain*, Vol. II, p. 157.
2. A corruption of Sanskrit *purva*, 'east'.
3. Narwar, historic town and fort, now in Gwalior state (see *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 396). Abu-l Fazl mentions that it formed a sarkar under the subah of Agra (*Ain*, Vol. II, pp. 189-190).
4. The country of the Meos, divided in Akbar's time between the sarkars of Alwar and Tijara in the subah of Agra. It now comprises the greater part of Alwar and a small slice of the Bharatpur state besides parts of the British Indian districts of Muttra and Gurgaon.
5. Chrysobara. Pliny calls the river Jumna as "Jomanes and states that it flows into the Ganges through the Palibothri, between the towns of Methora, and Chrysobara (Krishnapura?)". See *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy*, p. 98.
6. The construction of the fort was commenced in November 1583 and was completed shortly afterwards (Smith, *Akbar*, p. 224).
7. The reference is to the Asoka pillar which bears not only the inscriptions of that king but also those of Samudra Gupta and Jahangir. The texts of the Asokan and Gupta inscriptions have both been deciphered.
8. The king's palace is also well built.
9. Hindu pilgrims still visit the Patalpuri temple, 'the temple of the nether world' and the Akshaya Vat, 'the imperishable Banyan tree' in the fort. See also Finch (Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 178).



10. The same statement has been made by other European travellers, see De Laet, p. 63; William Finch (Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 177).
11. Shave.
12. Either Narwar or Narwal in the modern Cawnpore district of U. P. The other town is Gohad in Gwalior state.
13. Haughtily.
14. For a similar statement see Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 152 and Ovington, p. 210, Ravana, the demon-king of Lanka went to Rama's cottage in the guise of an ascetic and abducted Sita. It is probably on that account that he is credited as the originator of some ascetic orders. For the Ravanvanshi Gosains, see Russell, *Tribes and Castes of C. P.*, Vol. III, pp. 155-156. According to the Ramayana story, Ravana did not survive his defeat but was killed by Rama.
15. Hanuman, the monkey-god.
16. The reference is to the "Magh-Mela", which is held when the sun enters the sign of Capricorn ('Makar') and attracts thousands of pilgrims who bathe at the holy *sangama* or confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna at Allahabad.
17. One leg.
18. The reference is obviously to the monks of the Naga sect who go about naked and armed.

## CHAPTER XL

1. Sarkar Jalesar in Orissa. According to Abu-l Fazl Orissa was divided into five sarkars by Akbar and incorporated in the province of Bengal (*Ain*, Vol. II, p. 126).
2. The famous temple of Jagannath (Sanskrit 'Lord of the Universe') at Puri in Orissa. The present temple was built about 1100 A.D. by Ananta Chodaganga (1076-1147). For contemporary accounts of the temple, see, Tavernier, Vol. II, pp. 175-178; Bernier, pp. 304-306.
3. Omit "pilfering and".
4. Omit "and debauch".
5. Because they are mostly handsome and well-dressed.
6. The Pathians were also Muslims.
7. Dacca in E. Bengal on the banks of the Buriganga river. For contemporary accounts, see Bowrey, *A Geographical Account*, pp. 149-150, 230 and Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 105 and 107.
8. Tavernier (Vol. I, p. 105) writes :—"the church of the Rev. Augustin Fathers is all of brick, and the workmanship of it rather beautiful."
9. Is it Pipli near Balasore in Orissa?
10. Satgaon, in Hooghly District, Bengal, 'Porto Pequeno' of the Portuguese, formerly an important commercial centre now fallen to ruins.
11. Patna, chief city of Bihar on the right bank of the Ganges.
12. Kashimbazar or Cossimbazar a town in the Murshidabad District, Bengal, was of great commercial importance before the foundation of Calcutta.
13. Chittagong, 'Porto Grando' of the Portuguese.
14. The bird Thevenot describes is the Indian Grackle or *Paharia Maina* (*Eulabes javana intermedia*). The bird he saw on his way from Masulipatam to Hyderabad was the Southern Grackle (*Eulabes religiosa*) which occurs throughout the forested hills of south India as far north as Goomsur and the Northern Circars on the east and as far as North Kanara on the west (Stuart Baker, *Fauna of British India, Birds*, Vol. III, pp. 17-20).
15. And it has a similar tone and voice.
16. Bhagnagar (Hyderabad), the 'Fortunate city' called after Bhagmati, the favourite mistress of Qutb Shah Muhammad Quli. See Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power*, trans., Vol. III, pp. 451-452.

17. Thevenot repeats the error of Tavernier (Vol. II, p. 175) who writes "Jagannath is the name of one of the mouths of the Ganges." Bernier, however, was better informed; he mentions that it was "situated on the Gulf of Bengale" (p. 304).
18. The reference here is to the celebrated shrine dedicated to Siva known as Visvesvara, which was destroyed by orders of Aurangzeb in 1669. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 266). For a contemporary description of the temple, see the account of Tavernier (Vol. II, p. 180 ff.).
19. Hundreds of thousands.
20. Bernier, describing the camp of the Great Mughal, refers to 'the Ganges water' and 'the saltpetre with which it is cooled' among other things, which formed the equipment of the camp household (p. 364). Also see Terry (Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 299).
21. According to Bernier, "Jagannat in which is included Bengale" yields 72,70,000 Rupees (p. 457).
22. In Aurangzeb's time Bengal was regarded as a penal province where officers were transferred as a mark of imperial disfavour. William Finch mentions three prison fortresses one of which 'Rotas' was in Bengal (Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 145).

## CHAPTER XLI

1. Malwa. Properly speaking the plateau "lying between 23° 30' and 24° 30' N. and 74° 30' and 78° 10' E." In Muslim times the province also included parts of Rajputana and the modern Central Provinces. Its boundaries nowhere touched those of Bengal though Baffin makes the same error.
2. Gwalior, capital of Gwalior state. At the time of Thevenot's visit Gwalior fort was a state prison.
3. Chitor, former capital of Mewar.
4. Mandu or Mandogarh, in the Dhar state, Central India, formerly the seat of a Muslim sultan. Under Akbar it became the head-quarters of a sarkar in the subah of Malwa (*Ain*, Vol. II, p. 112). But it was in partial ruins during the next reign when Sir Thomas Roe's quarters used to be infested by a lion and a wolf (p. 365).
5. Thevenot's statement is not quite accurate. Mandu first came under Muslim occupation in 1305 and Humayun conquered Malwa in 1535 after an interval of two centuries and three decades.
6. Humayun's adversary in Malwa was Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and not Salim Shah son of Sher Shah. When Akbar conquered the province Baz Bahadur was the ruler. Thevenot may have copied here William Finch who commits the same error (Foster, *Early Travels*, pp. 141-142).
7. Humayun never recovered the province, its reconquest for the Mughals was achieved by his son Akbar.
8. The reference is obviously to the splendid cathedral mosque built by Hoshang Shah which is still extant.
9. The mausoleum of Mahmud Khilji in the close neighbourhood of Hoshang Shah's mosque where the father and two successors of Mahmud Shah were also interred.
10. Sultan Mahmud Khilji's tower of victory of which only the base now remains.
11. William Finch found the city "ruined all save only tombes and meskites" (Foster, *Early Travels*, pp. 140-141). Roe took his residence at Mandu in one of the deserted "mosquitoes" (p. 354 f.n. 1).
12. The French original has temples only and not two temples. The remains of one near the Lahori Darwaza still survive. "Two piers marking the site of a doorway are still intact; they are elaborately carved, bearing figures of acrobats, animals, birds, and fabulous beings" (Yazdani, *Mandu, the City of Joy*, p. 122).

13. Mandu can still boast of many big tanks.
14. May be identified with Rantipore of De Laet and Baffin and Finch's Rantimore or Ranthambhor in Jaipur state though it was not the provincial capital. For the practice of giving the condemned prisoner a drink of milk before he was hurled down see De Laet (p. 36) and Finch (Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 145).
15. The ruling family of Mewar claims descent from the hero of the Ramayana and not from Porus.
16. I took pleasure in examining it in the house of a person who kept one out of curiosity.
17. In front.
18. The bat described here is the flying fox (*Pteropus medius*) seen all over India. According to Blanford, "The head is generally reddish brown, the hind neck and shoulder paler, generally pale brownish yellow to straw colour: Head and body about nine inches. The expanse of the wings is about 4 feet. Ears naked and acutely pointed." He adds: "The flesh is eaten by many classes of natives of India, and is said by some Europeans, who have tried it, to be well flavoured and delicate" (Blanford, *Mammalia, Fauna of British India*, Pt. II, pp. 257-259).

## CHAPTER XLII

1. Khandesh. For an account of the subah under Akbar, see *Ain*, Vol. II, pp. 222 ff. It was also known as Dandes after prince Danyal.
2. Orissa. Baffin wrongly makes Orissa contiguous to Berar and Khandesh and Thevenot follows suit.
3. Memorandum.
4. Burhanpur in Nimar District, Central Provinces, famous for silk embroidery and the seat of the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan till 1635 (see, *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. IX, pp. 104-106; Bernier, p. 31; Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 42-44). The correct latitude is 21° 18' North.
5. The distance between Surat and Burhanpur varies with different travellers. Tavernier (Vol. I, p. 43) gives 132 kos; Mundy makes it 170 kos (Vol. II, p. 50 f.n. 1); De Laet (p. 30) 233 miles and Sir Thomas Roe 223 miles (*Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 68). Sir William Foster says that the actual distance as measured by General Goddard's surveyors is 237¼ miles. (*Ibid.*, p. 68, f.n. 5).
6. The fort, commonly known as the Badshahi Qila, stands on the right bank of the Tapti. See Mundy, Vol. II, p. 50; Finch (Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 138) and De Laet (p. 30).
7. To enjoy the lovely view. Compare Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 50. He says that the king used to watch from here fighting elephants, buffaloes, antelopes and horse and hare racing.
8. De Laet (p. 30), Peter Mundy (Vol. II, p. 51) and Finch (Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 138) also describe this stone figure.
9. The water was delivered into a large square reservoir, known as *Jali Karanj*, "and from here was distributed to the town by earthen tile pipes surrounded with masonry." The Mughal waterworks were constructed between 1618 and 1650 and "form perhaps the most important monument of the past glory of Burhanpur" (See, *Nimar Dist. Gazetteer*, pp. 219-220).
10. See Manucci who says, "In this province they make much very fine white and coloured cloth, also printed cloth, which are exported in quantities by Persian and Armenian merchants to Persia, Arabia and Turkey. The soil is productive in grain" (Vol. II, p. 429).

## CHAPTER XLIII

1. Balaghat is evidently the subah of Aurangabad.
2. Aurangabad in Hyderabad state. Founded by Malik Ambar in 1610 Fateh-



- nagar was renamed Aurangabad by Aurangzeb when he transferred his headquarters there as viceroy of the Deccan. (See *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. VI, pp. 148 ff.).
3. Baglan, a hilly tract comprising the present Baglan and Kalyan taluks of Nasik district, Bombay (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. VI, p. 192; also Foster, *Early Travels*, pp. 78-79, n. 2 and 136).
  4. Telingana. Its capital was Warangal.
  5. To rest.
  6. The identity is not clear. We find mention of one Signor David Bazen or Bazu, a Dutch man who followed Tavernier to India (see, Tavernier, Vol. I, p. xlix; Vol. II, p. 99; *The English Factories in India*, 1665-1667, p. 16 and n.).
  7. Mahua (*bassia latifolia*) indigenous to many parts of India and yields valuable timber. Its flowers are eaten and yield a strong and cheap drink, (*mahua arrack*), Watt, Vol. I, pp. 406-415.
  8. Cashew-nut; *Anacardium occidentale*, Hindi *kaju*. The tree was introduced into India by the Portuguese. (Watt, Vol. I, pp. 232-233).
  9. Hindi *babul*, *babur*, *kikar*, the wild *Acacia arabica*. (Watt, Vol. I, pp. 18-27).
  - 9a. See *supra* Chapter XXI, Note 15.
  10. Navapur in the Pimpalner sub-division of Khandesh dist., Bombay. Tavernier writes that Navapur is the place where 'the best musk-scented rice in the world grows'. (Vol. I, p. 116).
  11. The places on the route are:—Surat, Bardoli, Valod, Vyara, Sarkna, Navapur, Khanapur, Pimpalner, Taharabad (on the Mosam river), Satana, Umbrane, Ankai, Tankai, Devthan, Lasur, and Aurangabad.
  12. *Chaukis*=guards.
  13. Ox is the vehicle of Siva and not of Rama.
  14. May be either a viragal or a sati stone.
  15. Filth.
  16. Satana, the head-quarters of the Baglan sub-division in Nasik district, Bombay about 30 miles west of Malegaon. (*Nasik Dist. Gazetteer*, Part II, pp. 646-647).
  17. François Pallu, Bishop of Heliopolis passed through India in 1663 on his way to Siam where he went to supervise the mission work. He returned home in 1666 via Surat and Aleppo. (See, *The English Factories in India*, 1661-1664, p. 270; 1665-67, pp. 127 and 219). For details of M. Pallu's career, reference may be made to Hutchinson, *Adventurers in Siam in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1940).
  18. M. Lambert, Bishop of Bevrout in Syria who, according to Tavernier (ii, p. 232), was in Siam in 1665. For his career in Siam, see Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, Chapter III.
  19. Aurangzeb's first viceroyalty of the Deccan with head-quarters at Burhanpur lasted from 1636 to 1644. His second viceroyalty of the Deccan, with the seat of Government at Aurangabad, lasted for a shorter term from 1653 to 1658. See, Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, pp. 54 and 170-171.
  20. Dilras Banu Begam, Aurangzeb's first wife, "died at Aurangabad on 8th October, 1657 from illness following child birth" (Sarkar, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 61). Tavernier (Vol. I, pp. 118-9) also describes the tomb. According to the *Cambridge History of India* (Vol. IV, p. 567), the tomb was built in 1679. This is wrong. An inscription on the gateway of the mausoleum says that it was built in 1071 A.H. (1660 A.D.) by Ataullah (Consens, *Archaeological Survey of India*, New Series, Vol. XXXI, p. 3).
  21. Of the mosques at Aurangabad, the most famous is the Jama Masjid built by Malik Ambar.
  22. Bains in the French text. Baths.
  23. If the animal came from Ceylon it was either a Ceylon Sloth (*Loris tardigradus tardigradus*) or an allied species; two are found in South India also. See Pocock, *Mammalia, Fauna of British India*, Vol. I, pp. 181-182.

## CHAPTER XLIV

1. Ellora (Verul), village in the district of Aurangabad, Hyderabad state about 15 miles north-west of Aurangabad famous for its rock temples and caves, which are among the finest in India. See Burgess, *Archaeological Survey Reports of Western India*, Vol. V (Elura Cave Temples).
2. Slowly.
3. Daulatabad in Hyderabad state 28 miles northwest of Hyderabad city, also known as Deogir or Deogarh. See, Bilgrami and Wilmott, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 397 ff.
4. Thevenot evidently refers to the tombs at Khuldabad or Rauza near Ellora. The original name of the place was Rauza, "which was changed to Khuldabad in consequence of the title of *Khuld Makan* conferred on Aurangzeb after his death." The most notable of the tombs in Thevenot's time were those of Malik Ambar, and Saiyed Hazrat Burhanuddin. Later, Aurangzeb and his son of Azam Shah were buried at Khuldabad (*Hyderabad State Gazetteer*, p. 213).
5. Tank near the Pangra gate of the city-walls, Rauza. (Bilgrami and Willmott, ii, p. 715).
6. The reference is apparently to the two gigantic *Dwarapalas* (door-keepers) on the north side of the court of the Kailash temple. These *Dwarapalas* are shown "with several arms, and wearing high *mukutas* or tiaras". See Burgess, *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. V (Elura Cave Temples), p. 34.
7. The well-known court of the Kailash temple. For a description see, Burgess, *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. V, pp. 28 ff.
8. On either side of the detached porch in the Kailas temple, "there are two pillars or dhvajastambhas (literally banner staves)" and "two elephants about the size of life" (Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 343).
9. I could make nothing connected of it.
10. The Kailash temple which has been described as "by far the most extensive and elaborate rock-cut temple in India." The temple was built by Krishna I, the Rashtrakuta king of Malkhed (757-783). For a detailed description of the temple, see, Burgess, *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. V, pp. 26 ff.; Fergusson, *op. cit.*, pp. 342-349.
11. Ordinary size.
12. The reference here is to the 'Tin Thal' or three-storeyed cave-temple, the last of the twelve Buddhist caves at Ellora. It was "adapted for worship rather than as a monastery". Mr. Burgess writes "In no other series do we find a three-storeyed *vihara* carried out with the same consistency of design and the like magnificence as in this example." (*Archaeological Survey of Western India*, V, p. 16).
- 12a. Yogis.
13. At the time of Thevenot's visit, it was not certain when the caves at Ellora were excavated, but due to modern researches, we may safely say that the Buddhist cave-temples (the earliest chronologically) were excavated between A.D. 450 to 650 or 700. (See Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 4). The Hindu caves were constructed during 650-800 A.D. and the Jain caves between 850-1100 A.D.
14. Modern Khuldabad (?) formerly known as Rauza.
15. Not traceable on modern maps.
16. Houses whereof are built of a blackish freestone with which its streets are also paved. At some distance from there I encountered the difficult descent, which I have mentioned.

## CHAPTER XLV

1. Moderately large.
2. For a description of the fort, see Bilgrami and Wilmott, Vol. II, p. 422 ff.

3. Seventy and not three score leagues and more.
4. Kalvaral (18° 27' N. and 78° 16' E.). Orme has marked this place on his map as 'Calvar'. (*Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*).
5. The stages on the route are Ambad (34 miles south-east of Aurangabad), Ashti, Lasina (Nander Dist.), Nander (on the north bank of the Godavari), Lisa, Dentapur, Indur (now known as Nizamabad), Kondalwadi (Nizamabad Dist.) and Indalwai. Out of these places, Lisa and Dentapur are not traceable on modern maps, but they are marked in Orme's map. Thevenot's route from Aurangabad upto Nander is the same as that of Tavernier (Vol. I, p. 119). Earlier, he mentions only eight towns, but actually he refers to nine between Patoda and Indur.
6. Three hundred and thirty.
7. Are usually there.
8. Thevenot here refers to the invasion of Bijapur by the Mughals under Raja Jai Singh. On 7 Jan. 1666, the Mughals forced their way to within 12 miles of Bijapur, but a few months after Jai Singh had to return baffled. (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 254-255).
9. Patoda south-east of Nander. Tavernier calls it "Patonta", 9 kos from Nander. (Vol. I, p. 119).
10. Perilous feats.
11. For tricks of jugglers, see Jafar Sharif, *Islam in India*. Most of the European travellers have described with admiration the performances of the Indian jugglers.
12. Roll.
13. Took a whim to remove the basin.
14. Indur now known as Nizamabad situated in 18° 40' N. and 78° 6' E. (*Hyderabad State Gazetteer*, p. 132).
15. Because when he wishes he is maintained by the King of Golkonda.
16. Not traceable on modern maps.

## CHAPTER XLVI

1. Sitanagar, city of Sita, cannot be located in a modern map. Moll, (*India*, p. 239) mentions the town of 'Chitinagar' which 'stands about 63 leagues to the southward of Aurengabad, and is remarkable only for a fine pagoda. . . .'. Cousens mentions only one temple dedicated to Rama, Lakshmana and Sita situated to the south-west of Indur. This may be the temple that Thevenot visited (Cousens, *List of Antiquarian Remains in His Highness the Nizam's Territories*, p. 63).
2. Loaded.
3. Decorations.
4. It hath a nave, a choir.
5. Style.
6. Chikalthan, Rohilagadh, Ambad, Dhasalkher, Ashti, Manwat, Parbhani, Purna river (a tributary of the Godavari), Lasina, Nander, the Godavari river. (In the Deccan the Godavari is sometimes called Godaganga), Patoda, Kondalwadi (north-east of Biloli), Manjra river, Lisa, Dentapur, Indur or Nizamabad, Phulang river, Indalwai, Kalvaral.
7. Hyderabad iron became famous for its quality in very early times, as it formed the raw material for the Damascus blades. According to the *Ain* (Vol. II, p. 230) Nirmal and Indore (Indalwai) possessed mines of iron and other metals. The best steel, according to Bilgrami and Willmott (Vol. I,



- p. 399) is produced at Kunasamudram near Nirmal in the Nander District. Also see Ball's note, Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 127 and *Relations of Golconda*, p. 34.
8. Kalaghat.
  9. This is probably a mistake. Shivaji had a brother, Sambhaji and a step brother, Ekoji (Vyankoji), both of whom were in the Bijapur service. Shambhaji was not alive at the time. Probably one of the principal officers of Shivaji or a natural son of Shahaji, of whom there was more than one, is meant.
  10. Nuts or a pullet's eggs.
  11. The Balaghat (*bala* 'above', *ghat* 'a mountain pass'). It has been used to denote various parts of India. In Berar, the name is given to the upland country, above the Ajanta Hills, and this is the northernmost portion of 'the tableland of the Deccan'. The Muslims of Bijapur applied this term to territories conquered by them from the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar in the 17th century. This 'comprised the north-east part of Mysore and the Bellary, Anantapur, Kurnool, and Cuddapah Districts of Madras.' It is also applied, as mentioned before, to the range of hills, in the western half of Hyderabad in which sense it is used here. (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. VI, p. 222).

## CHAPTER XLVII

1. Telingana (*Telinga*, Sanskrit *Trilinga*). The Muslims vaguely applied it to the country of the Telugus, in the north-eastern part of the Madras Presidency. (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 275-276; *Hobson-Jobson*, pp. 912-913). Sarkar (*Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 43), describes Telingana as one of the four provinces of Mughal Deccan at the time of Aurangzeb's first viceroyalty of the Deccan.
2. Seat of the Portuguese government in India.
3. Bidar, head-quarters of the district of the same name in Hyderabad state, formerly capital of the Bahmani kingdom.
4. Kalyani, the ancient Chalukyan city now in Hyderabad state. It was captured by Aurangzeb in 1656.
5. Vijayanagar.
6. "When Aurangzeb invested the place, Bidar was described as 4,500 yards in circumference, having three deep ditches 25 yards wide and 15 yards deep, cut in the stone." (Bilgrami and Willmott, Vol. II, p. 380).
7. The castle was built by Ahmad Shah Wali. Its building commenced in 1428, and was completed in 1432. (Burgess, *Archaeological Survey Reports of Western India*, Vol. III, p. 42; Yazdani, *The Antiquities of Bidar*, p. 4).
- 7a. Thevenot probably refers to Shaista Khan who was Shah Jahan's brother-in-law. Shaista Khan was recalled from the Deccan in January 1664 before Thevenot's visit to Bidar, but it is hardly accurate to describe him as governor of that place. Mr. Ghulam Yazdani informs me that the first governor of Bidar on the part of the Mughal emperor was Iftikhar Khan who held his office for a little over two years. The next governor, Khan Zaman Mir Khalil-ullah left Bidar in 1660 to assume the governorship of Malwa. He was succeeded by Shams-ud-Din Mukhtar Khan who held his charge from 1660 to 1672. Thevenot could not possibly have met his successor in 1666. Nor was Shaista Khan succeeded by an old Persian in the viceroyalty of the Deccan, Prince Muazzam being his successor.
8. Sandalwood.
9. I do not know on what evidence Thevenot's statement is based. I have not been able to trace this custom nor could I find any reference anywhere to the practice of eating a cow made of paste and honey.
- 9a. Enjoins.

10. Fasting among both savage and higher races is a recognized practice. For the origin of fasting and its prevalence among the various races of the world, an excellent summary is contained in the article by A. J. Maclean entitled "Fasting" in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. V, pp. 759-771. Among the Hindus, fasts are frequently observed. The days of the new and full moon (*amavasya* and *purnima*) are fast-days and so also the eleventh day of each lunar month, which is called the *ekadasi* day. (See Dubois, *Hindu manners*, pp. 271 ff.).
11. Five, six or seven days.
12. *Chirata swertia*, *charayatah*, *chireta*. It is commonly found in temperate regions of the Himalayas from Kashmir to Bhutan, and in Khasia mountains. The basis of Thevenot's statement that it grows towards Cambay is unknown. (Watt, Vol. VI, Part III, pp. 390-392).

## CHAPTER XLVIII

1. The province lay between Khandesh and the Surat coast. Sarkar (*Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, pp. 50-51) describes it as "a small tract, stretching north and south for about 160 miles from the Tapti river to the Ghatmata hills of the Nasik district, and 100 miles east and west across the Ghats." Its Rathor Rajas styled themselves *Shah* and used the title of *Baharji*. They became vassals of the Mughals in 1638. (Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, pp. 52-3). For a description of Baglana, see, *Ain*, Vol. II, p. 251.
2. Mulher on the Mosam river.
3. Portuguese settlement and town in Gujarat at the entrance of the Gulf of Cambay. (*Imp. Goz.*, Vol. XI, pp. 128-131).
4. Moderately large.
5. Slavery was not abolished in Portuguese India till 25 February, 1869. (Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, ii, pp. 467-468).
6. Bombay was acquired by the Portuguese in 1534 from Bahadur Shah.
7. The fortified hill of Korle called by the Portuguese "*Morro de Chaul*" (Da Cunha, *Chaul and Bassein*, pp. 85-87).
8. Dabhol in Ratnagiri District, Bombay situated in 17° 35' North Lat
9. Shivaji took Dabhol in 1660.
10. Rajapur (Ratnagiri Dist. Bombay) was sacked by Shivaji in 1660. (Grant Duff, *History of Marathas*, I, p. 139). Vengurla, famous for spices, had a Dutch factory for many years. Ball's identification of Rasigarh with Rakshasgudda is obviously wrong.
11. Cloth.
12. The reference here is to *Coconut day* (*Nariali Purnima*) celebrated in coastal areas on the full moon day of *Shravan*. The idea underlying it is to keep the sea calm and smooth, and traders think that by offering coco-nuts, flowers, betel-nuts, etc., they please the sea-goddess or god. (See, Manohar Lall, *Among the Hindus*, pp. 149-151; Mrs. Stevenson, *The Rites of the Twice-born*, pp. 309 ff.).
13. And some of them have been known to have children at that age.
14. Otherwise.
- 14a. There is no legal bar to a Hindu having a plurality of wives.
15. For marriage preliminaries, procession, feast, rites etc., see, Mrs. Stevenson, Chapters III-V.
16. That appear.
17. Walk.

## CHAPTER XLIX

1. The custom of shaving a widow's head differs in various parts of India. In Gujarat, the hair of a widow are cut off on the tenth day. In certain castes, the head is shaved on the day of the husband's death. (Mrs. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, p. 204).
2. The reference is to the *sati* rite abolished by Lord William Bentinck.
3. Ball (Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 168, n. 2) suggests that the custom referred to by Thevenot here probably gave rise to the story of Sindbad's burial with his dead wife.
4. On Mughal efforts to suppress *sati*, see, Bernier, pp. 306-307; Tavernier, Vol. II, pp. 163-164; Peter Mundy, II, pp. 179-180; Manucci, II, p. 97; Ovington, p. 201. Akbar prohibited the burning of a widow against her inclination, and so did his son Jahangir (Hawkins in Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 119).

## BOOK II

## CHAPTER I

1. The Deccan. This name is "a" corruption of the Sanskrit *dakshina*" (southern), and "includes, in its widest sense, the whole of India south of the Narbada river" (See, *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XI, pp. 205-208). Thevenot obviously refers to Bahmani kingdom here.
2. These principalities owed their allegiance to the Hindu rulers of Vijayanagar and not to the Bahmani kings.
3. Calicut in the Malabar District, Madras. Vasco da Gama landed here in 1498 (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. IX, pp. 289-291).
4. Cochin situated in 9° 58' N. and 76° 14' E. The original town was swept away in 1341 by violent floods. It played an important part in the history of Portuguese and Dutch expansion in India. The Portuguese appeared at Cochin in 1500. In 1663, the town was captured by the Dutch. It is now the chief port of Malabar. (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. X, pp. 353-355).
5. Cannanore in Chirakkal taluk of Malabar district, Madras, once 'the capital of the Zamorin's principal rival the Kolattiri Raja and one of the earliest Portuguese settlements on the coast'. (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. IX, pp. 298-299).
6. Quilon (Kollam) An important port now in Travancore state, which once formed the capital of an independent principality.
7. The first two syllables are the ordinary Dravidian word, *mala* (hill, mountain), and *bar* is the Persian for country. The native name is *Malayalam* (hill-country).
8. The kingdom of Vijayanagar was so called by the Portuguese after Narsingha Saluva, the founder of the second ruling dynasty. Here the name of the kingdom has been applied to the capital, the ruins of which are still to be seen about the village of Hampi near Hospet in the Bellary district. (See, Longhurst, *Hamp. Ruins*; Barbosa, Vol. I, p. 128).
9. The reference is again to the Bahamani King.
10. Vasco da Gama (1469-1524), famous Portuguese navigator and discoverer of the sea-route to India. For his voyage to India and dealings with the Malabar princes see Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, Whiteway, *The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India and Prestage*, *Vasco da Gama*.
11. Zamorin, the title of the Hindu raja of Calicut, from Malayal, *Samutiri* abbreviated to Samuri, which again is derived from *Samudrin*. 'The Sea-Lord'. (See, *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 977). Ball suggests that "it is more likely to be a transliteration of the Malayalam *Samutiri*, itself a corruption of Swami-Sri, Lord-Master" (Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 89 n. 2).



12. This is approximately correct, the actual latitude being 11° 15' N.
13. Are detached.
14. Anxious to supplant his rival the Zamorin from the predominant position in Malabar the raja of Cochin readily allied himself with the Portuguese. In 1503 the Portuguese built a fort at Cochin and soon afterwards the raja acknowledged the suzerainty of the king of Portugal. Amity between the two powers long remained unbroken until the advent of the Dutch in Malabar upset the existing political balance. See, Panikkar, *Malabar and the Portuguese*, Chap. IV and Logan, *Malabar*, Vol. I, pp. 304 ff.
15. In 1663.
16. The Cochin River. This is hardly a river. The *Malabar and Anjengo Gaz.* (Vol. I, p. 6) says it is the only outlet of the great system of lagoons and backwaters which extends along this part of the Coast.
17. From early times, pepper, particularly *piper nigrum* (black pepper) formed the chief article of export from Malabar. (Watt, Vol. VI, Pt. I, pp. 260 ff.). Duarte Barbosa (Vol. II, p. 92) writes that in the kingdom of Cochin, "there is much pepper which grow throughout the land on trees like unto ivy." Hamilton (*A new Account of the East Indies*, Vol. I, p. 183) found the state "producing great Quantities of Pepper" in the next century.
18. This is obviously a reference to the disease known as elephantiasis or 'Cochin-leg'. Ralph Fitch (1583-91) writes "This bad water causeth many of the people to be like lepers, and many of them have their legs swollen as bigge as a man in the waste, and many of them are scant able to go." (Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 44). Hamilton, (Vol. I, p. 181) also refers to this disease.
19. Nayars. Probably derived from the Sanskrit *Nayaka*, a leader. The Nayars were originally a martial caste well known for their warlike spirit. Burke compared them to the Mamelukes of Egypt. For details see Barbosa, Vol. II, pp. 38157; *Malabar Anjengo Gas.*, Vol. I, pp. 114-123; Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. V, pp. 283 ff; Logan, Vol. I, pp. 131 ff.
20. Almost every European traveller who visited the Malabar coast refers to this custom. See Nicolo de Conti (*India in the fifteenth century*, Conti's narrative, p. 20); Linschoten, Vol. I, p. 280, Barbosa, Vol. II, p. 47; Pyrdard, Vol. I, p. 384; Caesar Frederick in Purchas, Vol. X, p. 104; Hamilton, Vol. I, p. 173 and Grose, Vol. I, p. 243. Logan (Vol. I, p. 136) says that "the custom was adopted to prevent alienation of property."
21. The reference is to Goda Varma the last of the four princes adopted by the Rani in 1658. The last king to be crowned in the Portuguese cathedral was Rama Varma. (*Cochin State Manual*, pp. 88 ff.).
22. General Hustaart installed Vira Kerala as king of Cochin on behalf of the Dutch, and entered into a treaty with him on 22 March 1663 (*Cochin State Manual*, p. 95). For the terms of the treaty see Panikkar, *Malabar and the Dutch*, pp. 17-18.
23. Tanur or Vettat in Ponnai taluk, Malabar Dist.
24. The origin of the Nayars is a disputed point. The generally accepted idea is that "they are the same as the Sudras of the east coast and that the term Nayar is etymologically identical with Naick or Naidu." (*Cochin State Manual*, p. 31). As they are analogous to the Kshatriyas or fighting castes of north India probably they claim like their confreres in the north descent from heroes of the solar race.
25. The dress of the Nayars is scanty. 'By custom the Nayar women go uncovered from the waist; upper garments indicate lower caste'. (Logan, Vol. I, p. 134; Thurston, Vol. V, pp. 365-366).
26. The Pulayan from Mal. *pula*, pollution, also known as Cheruman, forms one of the polluting castes in Malabar. The word Cheruman means a slave and perhaps indicates still their social and economic status. (Thurston, Vol. II, p. 45 ff; *Malabar and Anjengo Dist. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pp. 133-134).
27. "They pollute the high castes at a distance of 64 feet" (*Malabar and Anjengo Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 134).

28. Go, go, see Mandelslo, p. 88.
29. Mr. Poduval, Director of Archaeology, Travancore state informs me that "Concouya" is the same as *hoi hoi* which a man of high caste shouts as he walks about the road to avoid pollution by a low caste man.
30. Literally the big river, the reference is obviously to the Periyar (the great river) of Cochin which is about 142 miles in length (*Cochin State Manual*, pp. 5-6).
31. Trial by ordeal was common in civil and criminal cases in Cochin as in other parts of India. The most common form was the ordeal by fire, but there were several forms of ordeal by water. Achyuta Menon says that "the accused had to swim across the ferry at Uzahavam in Cranganur, or that at Pillipuram in Vaipin island which used to swarm with crocodiles, and if he escaped unhurt by these creatures he was declared innocent." (*Cochin State Manual*, pp. 339-340, 377). Thevenot's account however is fanciful. The "Alligator pagoda" known as the temple of Trikkatakkapilli was on the Cranganor river to the south of Paliport (Palipuram). See, K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, Vol. II, pp. 258-261. Col. H. Temple Drury writes on the ordeal as follows: "a small pagoda, or heathen temple stands on the bank of the river, in which two alligators were specially supported, their daily food having been thrown into the water in order to keep them there. To undergo their ordeal the accused was compelled to swim across this river and back, which if he refused to do, he was dragged through, holding on with his hands to a boat. If the alligator pulled him under the water, it was considered a sign of guilt, if otherwise he was released as innocent." (*Life and Sport in Southern India*, p. 70). Dellon refers to a similar ordeal prevailing among the inhabitants of Madagascar "If there be any Contest betwixt two parties, they appear on the Shoar of a Lake or River; he that is to confirm the Truth of his Affirmation by Oath, plunges himself into the River, Conjures and Prays the *Jacaret*, (Crocodile) to be Arbitrators betwixt him and his Enemy, and to decide their Quarrel; to let him Live if he speaks Truth, and to devour him instantly if he affirms anything contrary to it. And this they make use of for a Tryal of the Guilt or Innocency of him who thus commits himself to the decision of the Crocodile in the Water." *A Voyage to the East Indies* (English edition 1698), p. 27. *Nouvelle Relation d'un Voyage fait aux Indes Orientales, Amsterdam, 1699*, p. 35.
32. The Christians of the Syrian and Romo Syrian sects are sometimes called the Christians of St. Thomas in the belief that their ancestors were converted by the apostle himself.
33. Headquarters of the district of the same name in Madras. (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 404-7).
34. Kayangulam or Kayankulam in Travancore State. It was formerly the capital of an independent principality known as Onad, which had the same status as Travancore. (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XV, pp. 195-196).
35. The ruler of Cannanore bore the title of Kollattiri. He was the chief rival of the Zamorin.
36. Badagora or Vadakara (north bank) north of Kotta river in Kurumbranad taluk of Malabar district. (*Malabar and Anjengo Dist. Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pp. 432-433).
37. Kottakkal, three miles south of Badagra. It was once "the stronghold of the Kotakkal Kunhali Marakkars, famous pirates whose deeds are the theme of many ballads." (*Ibid*, pp. 433-434).
38. Muttungal north of Vadakara on the sea coast.
39. *Areca catechu*, Vern. *supari*, Tamil, *adaikay* from *adai* 'close-clustering' and 'kay', 'nut'. (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 35; Watt, Col. I, pp. 291 ff.).
40. The Palmyra palm; brab tree, *Borassus flabelliformis* Vern. *tel, tala, tar, tari*, commonly cultivated in South India and Ceylon. The leaf gives a material which is a substitute for paper. (Watt, Vol. I, pp. 495-504; *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 664). Palm leaves or cadjans are still used for keeping state records.

41. During the Onam festival, "the men, particularly those who are young, form themselves into parties, and shoot at each other with arrows. These arrows are blunted, but exceedingly strong, and are discharged with such force that a considerable number are generally wounded on both sides." (Thurston, V, p. 373).
42. Banghel (Bangar) near Mangalore. The Bangar family ruled over Mangalore and were under Vijayanagar. Subsequently, they allied themselves with the Portuguese. For a description of the place see Pietro Della Valle, p. 302. (See also *Mannual of South Canara District*, Vol. I, pp. 71-73).
43. Ullal situated on the Netravati river, now a village in the Mangalore taluk of South Kanara district, Madras. It was the seat of a Jain family of some local importance and was ruled by a queen when Pietro Della Valle, the Italian traveller visited the place (pp. 303-304). (See also *Madras Provincial Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 399).
44. Mangalore, South Kanara district, Madras. The Portuguese captured the town in 1596 and maintained a footing there for the next two centuries. The correct latitude of the city is  $12^{\circ} 52'$  North. (*Madras Provincial Gazetteer*, Vol. II, pp. 396-397).
45. Basrur (the Barcelore or Barkalnr of early geographers), now a village in South Kanara district, Madras. Formerly it was an important trade centre. It was sacked by Shivaji in 1665.
46. Honavar or Onore, in North Kanara district, Bombay situated in  $14^{\circ} 17'$  N. The place was visited thrice by Ibn Batuta and is mentioned by Duarte Barbosa (Vol. I, pp. 185-187). Pietro Della Valle (pp. 202-203) describes the town.
47. Kanara or Canara from Kannada literally "the black country" so named on account of its black soil and probably also for its long association with Kanarese princes. The part of the western sea-board to which the name is popularly applied is now divided into two districts (1) North Kanara in Bombay and (2) South Kanara in Madras.
48. Worthless.

## CHAPTER II

1. Sher Khan better known as Sher Shah. He defeated Humayun at Chausa (1539) and subsequently assumed the title of Shah Alam. His power however never extended beyond the Vindhya and it is wrong to call him "King of Deccan".
2. Another inaccurate statement. Mahmud Shah was not put to death by Sher Shah.
3. Humayun was the second Mughal emperor of India.
4. Thevenot is again wrong. Sikandar and not Selim Shah lost Delhi to Humayun.
5. Neither Humayun nor Sher Shah ever conquered any part of the Carnatic.
6. Purely a fiction.
7. Sher Shah died in 1545 A.D. Humayun returned to India in 1555 during the troublesome period that followed Selim Shah's death in 1554.
8. Malik Ahmad or Ahmad Nizam Shah became independent ruler of Ahmadnagar in 1490.
9. Quli Qutb Shah founded the ruling dynasty of Golkonda either in 1512 or 1518.
10. Yusuf Adil Shah, the first king of Bijapur declared his independence in 1489-90. Thevenot's information about the ruling houses of the Deccan was hopelessly confused. He found two independent Muslim principalities—Bijapur and Golkonda in the Deccan and must have heard of another—Ahmadnagar which had already been annexed by the Mughals. All these



principalities were founded long before Babar's invasion of India. Sher Shah and his successors had nothing to do with them. Vijaynagar was conquered by the allied Muslim princes in 1565.

11. The reference is obviously to Fathullah Imad Shah of Berar and Qasim Barid of Bidar.
12. The reference is probably to the victory gained by Malik Ambar, in alliance with the Deccani powers, over the Mughals in 1620 when he drove them back to Burhanpur (Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, Vol. I, p. 34).
13. Balaghat and Telingana must have been conquered during the Mughal campaign of 1631-1632. Telingana formed one of the four Deccan provinces of the Mughal Empire in 1636, and the whole of it, according to Sarkar (Vol. I, p. 43) was upland (*Balaghat*). Baglana was annexed in 1638.
14. For Aurangzeb's conquests in Bijapur during his second viceroyalty of the Deccan, see, Sarkar, Vol. I, Chapter XI.
15. Name applied to the east coast of Madras, although its boundaries were not clearly mentioned. The derivation of the word has been in dispute, but it is now regarded as a corruption of *Cholamandalam*, 'the country of the Cholas'. (See *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XI, pp. 51-52).
16. Famous sea-port, now in Tanjore district, Madras.
17. Again a mistake. Adil Shah and Qutb Shah conquered the remnants of the Vijayanagar kingdom in the Karnatak.
18. Vellore, taluk and town, now in North Arcot district, Madras, Bijapur and Golkonda were captured by Aurangzeb in 1686 and 1687 respectively. At the time of Thevenot's visit Adil Shah could not be a fugitive at Vellore which formed the fief of one of his nobles. The fort fell to Shivaji's troops in 1678. Vellore was for several years the headquarters of Shri Ranga III of Vijayanagar and he is probably confused with Adil Shah. (Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, Vol. IV, pp. 217-218; *Vridhdhagirisian, Nayaks of Tanjore*, pp. 132-3).
19. Gingee (Gingi), a famous rock-fortress in South Arcot district, Madras. Originally a stronghold of Vijayanagar it was later annexed by Bijapur. Shivaji secured the place from Nasir Muhammad Khan a Bijapuri noble in 1677.
20. Riza Quli, surnamed Neknam Khan was a 'trusty eunuch' of the sultan of Golkonda and not an officer of Bijapur. He was appointed governor of Karnatak in 1661. See Irvine's note, Manucci, Vol. IV, p. 451.
21. The reference is to the joint invasion by Bijapur and Golkonda of Shri Ranga Rayal's territories.
22. The principality of Madura was originally a part of the Vijayanagar kingdom. Viswanath the founder of the ruling dynasty rose to prominence after the decline of Vijayanagar. After the death of the famous Tirumala Nayak in 1659 the rulers of Madura lost their former power and importance.
23. Tanjore, headquarters of Tanjore district in Madras, was like Madura once a dependency of Vijayanagar. A Nayak dynasty was founded early in the 17th century. It was later supplanted by Ekoji or Vyankoji, step-brother of Shivaji. See *Vridhdhagirisian, Nayaks of Tanjore*.
24. Tranquebar, Vernacular *Tarangampadi*, in Tanjore District, Madras, 18 miles north of Negapatam. It became a Danish settlement in 1620.
25. *Pattamar, partimar*, 'a foot-runner, a courier.' (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 687).
26. Tirupati town in the Chandragiri taluk of North Arcot district, Madras. The town contains several temples, the chief of which are those of Govindrajawami and Ramaswamy. (*Manual of North Arcot Dist*, Vol. II, pp. 326-328). Tirupati is not, strictly speaking, near Cape Comorin.
27. Kareputtun in the Devagad sub-division, Ratnagiri District, Bombay. It has lost its former importance now.
28. Crocodiles were often kept in the deep moats of forts in India as a defensive measure. According to Sabhasad there were numerous crocodiles in the ditch of the Vellore fort. See Sen, *Siva Chhatrapati*, p. 127.
29. Ali Adil Shah II of Bijapur. On the question of his parentage, see, Sarkar, Vol. I, pp. 285-286; Bernier, p. 197; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 148.

## CHAPTER III

1. Tissuari a corruption of *Tisvadi* or a district comprising thirty village communities (Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of Goa*, p. 111).
2. There is a slight error. The correct latitude is 15° 30' North.
3. The Mandavi or the river of the toll post rises at the Parvar ghat in the district of Satari, and falls into the Bay of Aguada. (*Bombay Presidency Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 563).
4. Goa was, as a matter of fact, conquered by the Portuguese from the Bijapuris. Zabaim, Sabaio or Savai, as the name is variously written, is no other than Yusuf Adil Shah the first king of Bijapur. (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-131 and note, Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. I, pp. 186-187).
5. Duarte Barbosa's account of Goa confirms that of Thevenot. "The city is very great, with good houses, well girt about with strong-walls, with towers and bastions. Around it are many vegetable and fruit gardens, with fine trees and tanks of sweet water, with mosques and heathen temples." (Vol. I, p. 175). One of the best accounts of Goa is that of the Frenchman Dellon (*Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa*, 1698). François Pyrard (Vol. II, pt. I, Chapter I-VII) describes the city in great details.
6. Xavier, Francisco de (1506-1552), the famous Jesuit missionary and Saint, died at Sancian, off China, in 1552. His body was first buried at Molucca whence it was transferred to Goa Velha two years later where it still remains. The body is supposed to be incorruptible and is still periodically exposed for the benefit of pilgrims.
7. Tavernier also says almost in identical language "Many of these idolaters worship monkeys". "As I have elsewhere said pagodas have been built . . ." etc. The reference in both cases is to the worship of the monkey god Hanuman or Mahavir. Hon. Emily Eden mentions a case of some villagers in northern India insisting on worshipping a tame langur monkey belonging to a military officer (*Up the Country*, Vol. I, p. 107).
8. See Thevenot's account of Muttra. Pt. III, Book I, Chapter XXII.
9. This is still a well-known custom in orthodox Brahman families. Nobody who has not taken his bath is allowed to enter the *chauka*. If somebody touches the circle, the cooked food is defiled and no orthodox Brahman would partake of it.
10. Shares.

## CHAPTER IV

1. Biknur town, north-east of Medak in Hyderabad state.
2. Nawab. 'Nabad' in the French text is obviously a printer's error.
3. Medchal, in Hyderabad state in the north-east of Atrai-balda district. (*Hyderabad State Gazetteer*, p. 112).
4. The places on the route are :—Chinna Mallareddi, Biknur, Melur and Jidpalli (Meliver and Jalpeli of Orme's map), Medchal (Orme's Mersel), Bhagnagar or Hyderabad.
5. Hyderabad (Haiderabad). The city was founded in 1589 by Muhammad Quli, the fifth Qutb Shahi king.
6. This is approximately correct, the exact latitude being 17° 22' N.
7. Waited.
8. Probably Huq-Nazar.
9. This cannot be the Purana Pul over Musi of which 23 arches still exist. Of old bridges with three arches there are several in the neighbourhood.
10. Thevenot again mentions the river in Chap. X and places it between Danec and Tchelcour. It must be a very small stream and is not shown in modern maps. Both Danec and Tchelcour are shown in Orme's map but not the

- river. Mr. Ghulam Yazdani tells me that there are several nullahs near Hyderabad which fall into the Musi but none of them bear a name that may approximate to Nerva.
11. This serai must have been in the Karwan suburb which contains ruins of many buildings.
  12. The Char Minar. The most striking monument of the Qutb Shahs, occupies a central position with four roads radiating from its base. These four minarets rise to a height of about 180 feet, and were erected in 1591 A.D. by Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah. For a detailed account, see, Bilgrami and Willmott, *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Nizam's Dominions*, Vol. II, pp. 560-562; *Archaeological Report* (Hyderabad), 1918-1919, pp. 3-4.
  13. The majority.
  14. Mud.
  15. Fountains.
  16. Gul-i-Daudi. This word is used by Indians for both *Chrysanthemum coronarium* and *c. indicum* (Watt, Vol. II, pp. 272-273).
  17. Thick.
  18. Include.

## CHAPTER V

1. Settled.
2. We get stray references to Englishmen at Golkonda in the factory records. Mr. Nathaniel Chumley or Cholmley was engaged in the diamond trade for several years and Mr. Andrews was sent to Golkonda from Surat (*The English Factories in India*, 1661-64, pp. 274 n and 391).
3. Manucci refers to the Dutch factory at Golkonda, (Vol. III, pp. 132-133), Bernier to their power and influence (pp. 195-196).
4. Kettle-drums.
5. Tavernier estimated their number at more than 20,000. (Vol. I, pp. 127-128).
6. See Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, pp. 393-396, 556-558, and 651-653.
7. Fryer (Vol. II, p. 132) puts its value at 8s. in the last quarter of the 17th century. According to Tavernier, the value of a pagoda varied from 6 to 9½ francs (Vol. I, p. 130 and p. 329).
8. Regarding the location of Golkonda diamond mines, see Ball's note (Tavernier, Vol. II, pp. 352 ff.).
9. In Golkonda, according to Ball, it weighed 5½ grains, which is slightly less than Thevenot's estimate.
10. The French text is wrong here. (*sept mangelins sont sept carats*) for seven mangelin could not be equal to seven carats. The translator has made the necessary correction.
11. The French text has 'ecus' for 'crowns'.
12. Fifty five.
13. Nine.
14. Dutch *guilder*. According to Ball, its value was about 1s. 9d. to 1s. 9½d. (Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 328).

## CHAPTER VI

1. The old fortress is about 5 miles west of Hyderabad city. Originally constructed by a raja of Warangal the fort was ceded to Muhammad Shah Bahmani in 1364. It later passed to the Qutb Shahi Sultans early in the sixteenth century and was captured by Aurangzeb in 1687. (Bilgrami and Willmott, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 469 ff; *Hyderabad State Gazetteer*, pp. 113-114).



2. Sultan Quli Qutb Shah (1512-43). See, Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 339-378; Bilgrami and Willmott, Vol. II, pp. 470 ff.
3. The name 'Golkonda' is a compound of Telegu 'golla', (a shepherd) and 'konda', (a hill). It thus means 'shepherd's hill' (*Relations of Golconda*, Introduction, pp. xv-xvi).
4. The fort of Golkonda is surrounded by a stone wall about three miles in circumference, 'having high bastions eighty-seven in number at the angles'. There were originally eight gates, out of which only four are in use (Bilgrami and Willmott, Vol. II, pp. 510 ff.).

Bowrey confirms Thevenot "The fort of this Metropolitan is an admirable One, noe lesse then 5 English miles in Circuit, the walls of Vast height and Substance proportionable thereunto, gunned all round. . . ." (*A Geographical Account*, p. 110).

5. This large tank near the Banjara gate is said to have been built by Ibrahim Qutb Shah. (Bilgrami and Willmott, Vol. II, p. 511).
6. The Banjara gate, 'a massive structure of granite' about 50 ft. high, with platforms and chambers on either side for the guards.
7. The King's Palace, now in ruins, was built on the summit of the hill. (Bilgrami and Willmott, Vol. II, p. 514).
8. Probably Pitre de Lan, a young Dutch Surgeon, with whom Tavernier, (Vol. I, pp. 240-243) stayed for a few days at Golkonda.
9. Are busy with.
10. Emery stone. "This the industrial form of the mineral, is a granular alumina, with which a small amount of magnetic iron is associated. It is very freely distributed among the crystalline rocks of Southern India. . . . A large quantity is employed by the cutters and polishers of stones, both precious and ornamental" (Watt, Vol. II, pp. 572-73).
11. Yule derives the word from Persian *padzahr* or *pazahr* (Hobson-Jobson, p. 90). It may also be *bezahr*, without poison or anti poison. The name is applied "to certain hard concretions found in the bodies of animals, to which antidotal virtues were ascribed, and specially to one obtained from the stomach of a wild goat in the Persian province of Lar." Thevenot's account of Golkonda *bezoars* reads like a summary of Tavernier's more detailed narrative which mentions the porcupine besides, goat, cow and monkey as a *bezoar* producing animal (Vol. II, pp. 115-120). Fryer also was told (in Persia) that the stone found in the stomachs of wild goats was "occasioned by some Plant they delight to feed on." He says "The Persians the first of which is *against*, the other is *Poyson*" (Vol. II, pp. 193-195). Manucci however asserts that the stone was named after the place of its origin. "In Gulkundah . . . . is a district call Bezoar, near the country of Chanda. In that part goats are very numerous, and in them grow *bezoar* stones. It is from this place that the stones take their name" (Vol. II, p. 431). Manucci claims to have "strengthened" a patient with "Chicken broth and *bezoar* stone" (Vol. II, p. 178). Garcia da Orta also used it as a stimulant (Vol. I, p. 266). For his discourse on *bezoars* see Vol. II, pp. 231-235. It does not appear that Orta knew of Golkonda *bezoars*. See also *Relations of Golconda*, pp. 34-35.
12. Thevenot could have seen the Mausolea of five kings only as the sixth ruler of the Qutb Shahi dynasty was alive when he visited Golkonda. The tombs stand on a plain about half a mile from the fort and they have suffered badly from the ravages of time and man alike.
13. Porcelain.
14. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah who died in 1625. For description of his tomb see Bilgrami & Willmott, Vol. II, p. 520.
15. *Ghati* or *Ghari*. The day and night are divided into 60 and not 64 *gharis* as Thevenot asserts. The gong or bell that announces the time is also called *ghari*. See Terry (Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 317).

## CHAPTER VII

1. Shia.
2. Abdullah Qutb Shah (1626-1672) was the sixth and not the seventh ruler of the Qutb Shahi line. Bernier gives us an account of the king's character. (pp. 18-19). He writes "The King has lost all mental energy, and has ceased to hold the reins of government" (p. 194). Tavernier, (Vol. I, pp. 128 ff) also refers to the sultan. For a modern estimate of his character; see, Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. IV, pp. 330 ff.
3. This is wrong. See N. 1, Chapter II.
4. Hayat Baksh Begam, Abdullah's mother was a daughter of Ibrahim Quli the fourth king of the Qutb Shahi dynasty and not a Brahman lady as Thevenot imagined.
5. Thirteen, according to Sir Richard Burn (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 261) and twelve according to Sir Jadunath Sarkar (*History of Aurangzib*, Vol. IV, p. 330).
6. This is a mistatement. Abdullah was the eldest son of his father. There is no reference to a palace intrigue engineered by Hayat Bakhsh Begam as Thevenot writes. There was, however, some disorder and disturbance caused by 'the people of the bazar and the vagabonds' which was quickly put down.
- 6a. Aurangzeb began his campaign against Golkonda in January 1656, and not in 1658. For details of the campaign, see, Sarkar, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Chap. X.
7. An obvious exaggeration.
8. By the treaty of 1636 the king of Golkonda undertook to pay the emperor of Delhi an annual tribute of two lakhs of pagodas.
9. Prince Muhammad Sultan, entered Hyderabad unopposed on the 24th January 1656. Abdullah Qutb Shah had fled to the fort of Golkonda two days previously and the Mughal army reached the environs of the city on the 23rd. The king of Golkonda therefore, had a very narrow escape (Sarkar, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 230-231; also Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 135).
10. Prince Muhammad Sultan was married to the second daughter of Abdullah Qutb Shah in 1656.
11. Syed Muzaffar was one of the leading generals of Golkonda. He was mainly instrumental in raising Abul Hasan to the throne and the grateful sultan made him his prime minister. (See Sarkar, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 333).
12. The reference is to Mirza Raja Jai Singh's invasion of Bijapur (1665-1666).
13. Bernier, who was at Golkonda in 1667 refers to an unknown English ship, the seizure of which by the Dutch was prevented by the governor of Masulipatam by arming the whole population (pp. 195-196).
14. Abul-Hasan, popularly known as Tana Shah, married the youngest daughter of Abdullah Qutb Shah and succeeded him on the throne of Golkonda in 1672. (Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 138; Sarkar, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 331 ff.).
15. The reference is probably to Shah Raja Saheb who had prophesied Abul Hasan's marriage and helped him in securing the throne. The accuracy of the rest of the story is more than doubtful. (See Bilgrami & Willmott, Vol. II, pp. 571-572).
16. Omit "prostrating themselves".
17. Gain.
18. Ma Sahib, the eldest daughter of Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah, was married to Sayyid Ahmad. Tavernier calls him 'one of the relatives of the Grand Shaikh of Mecca' and gives an interesting account of the events preceding the marriage (Vol. I, pp. 131-132). On Abdullah's death, he was one of the candidates to the throne, but was defeated and thrown into prison.
19. Bernier wrongly says that the prince married the eldest daughter of the king of Golkonda (p. 21).
20. Tavernier calls him Mirza Abdul Cosing and says that he had two sons by the princess (Vol. I, p. 138).

21. Thevenot is wrong. There was no fourth daughter.
22. Madras.
23. Tavernier (Vol. II, p. 46) writes "Two per cent. on all purchases is paid to the King, who receives also a royalty from the merchants for permission to mine." The merchants paid a duty of 2 pagodas (16s.) per day for fifty men, and 4 pagodas when they employed a hundred men to work in "an area of about 200 paces in circumference." Thomas Bowrey, a contemporary of Tavernier, says that the land in the diamond mine fetches a much higher price, "... any Merchant adventurer may purchas a piece of land of halfe an Aker, a whole Aker or more, but at deare rates, as it Sometimes fall out. The Merchant giveing 8,10,20 thousand Pagodes for a Small Spot of land, hath the liberty to digge soc deep as he pleaseth, and wash out the Earth Searchinge for what hidden treasure he may happilie find, but severely inspected by the King's Officers, soe that if he meet with a rough Diamond that weyeth about 70 or 72 Conderines, the Exact weight of one Royal of 8, it must be for the King's owne Use...." (p. 112).
24. Tavernier gives a detailed account of the diamond mines. The most famous of the mines in the Carnatic was at Vajra-Karur in the Guti taluk of the Bellary district. The mine was privately worked by the sultan, and "the stones produced from it were large and wellspread." For other mines in the Carnatic, see, Tavernier, Vol. II, pp. 352-354.

## CHAPTER VIII

1. Concluded.
2. Places himself in.
3. Omit "by him".
4. Betel, "the leaf of the *Piper betel* chewed with the dried areca-nut." (*Hobson-Jobson*, pp. 89-90).
5. Means.
6. Nevertheless.
7. Mir Muhammad Said, better known as Mir Jumla, first came into prominence as a diamond merchant. He later rose to be Abdullah Qutb Shah's prime-minister, and earned a high reputation as a military leader in the Carnatic campaign. The plunder of the Carnatic made him "the richest private man in the South", and he then turned a traitor and entered the Mughal service (1656). In the war of succession he espoused the cause of Aurangzeb, though he did not forget to safeguard his own interests. Aurangzeb appointed him governor of Bengal whence he led an expedition into Assam. He died on 31 March 1663. For a detailed account, see, Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 133 ff; Bernier, pp. 16-19; Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, Vol. I, pp. 216 ff.
8. Muhammad Amin.
9. Gandikota, ancient fortress in the Cuddapah district, Madras. For a description of the fort see Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 227-228. Tavernier visited the place shortly after its reduction by Mir Jumla and he does not refer to the story told by Thevenot here. Tavernier ascribes Mir Jumla's success to the skill of European gunners in his service, and the weakness of the defenders in artillery as they had only two iron guns.  
It is not correct to say that Mir Jumla's conquests stopped at Gandikota. He later took Sidhout, east of Cuddapah, "and his troops advanced as far as Chandragiri and Tirupati in the North Arcot District" (See, Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, Vol. I, pp. 217-218).
10. Almost.
11. The Musi river.



## CHAPTER IX

1. This place is not shown in modern maps. Is it Ambarpet Kalan near Hayatnagar, about 14 miles from Hyderabad?
2. Tavernier (Vol. I, p. 139) writes that this place is "called in Persian CouLOUR and Gani in the Indian language." The site is now known by the name of Kollur; it is situated on the Kistna river in lat.  $16^{\circ} 42'$ , long.  $80^{\circ} 5'$ . According to Ball although "very wild suggestions" have been made about the Kollur diamond-mines, "its position is correctly indicated on several maps of the beginning of the eighteenth and end of the seventeenth centuries" (*Ibid.*, f.n. 4).
3. This place is also mentioned by Tavernier (Vol. I, pp. 139-40) and its buildings are described by him, but it is not traceable on modern maps. Mr. Ghulam Yazdani (cited by Crooke in Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 139-40 f.n.) identifies it with Sarurnagar or Sururnagar which is about 10 miles from Golkonda. Several old Qutb Shahi buildings and gardens still exist there.
4. Pangal, about 4 miles N.E. of Nalgonda town. (Dodwell, cited by Crooke in Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 140-41 f.n.).
5. Not traceable on modern maps.
6. Penuganchyprolu on the Muneru river.
7. The Kistna river.
8. The Musi river.
9. *Cassia fistula* (Hind. *amaltas*) is well known for its lovely yellow flower. Its long pods when ripe yield a valuable laxative. (Watt, Vol. II, pp. 217-219). It is one of the common flowering trees of India.
10. Masulipatam (Hind. *Machhlipatan* = 'Fishtown'). The correct latitude is  $16^{\circ} 11'$  North. For a contemporary account, see, Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 141-142. Masulipatam was once well known for its printed cloth but it has lost its former importance. (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 215-217).
11. The main route is clear, although it is difficult to identify some of the towns or villages :—Ambarpet Kalan (?); Chalkapalli; Pangal; Amangal; Surchel-Quipenteche (not traceable); Musi river; Gurglur; Anantagiri; Penuganchyprolu; Pandyala; Madduru; the Kistna river; Vuyyuru; Nidumolu, 10 miles north-west of Masulipatam; Guduru and Masulipatam.
12. Masulipatam, according to Tavernier had the best anchorage in the Bay of Bengal. (Vol. I, p. 141).
13. Cape Palmyras or Palmyras Point in the Kendrapara sub-division of Cuttack district which constitutes "a landmark for vessels making for the Hooghly from the south." *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 370-371.
14. This is a mistake; the correct latitude is  $10^{\circ} 46'$  North.
15. Is it mumps?
16. Pulicat in Chingleput district, Madras. The Dutch settled here in 1610. For a contemporary account see Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 214.
17. The Dutch fort, Geldria was built in 1613-15 and was named after the native place of the builder (Manucci, Vol. IV, p. 458). According to Tavernier (Vol. I, p. 214, and f.n. 1) the Governor of the fort in 1655 was Siern Pite, a German of the town of Bremen. Ball, in a footnote suggests that he must have been Laurens Pit (the elder) who was Councillor Ordinary from 1660-1678. For a note on Laurens Pit the younger see f.n. 1 in Manucci, Vol. II, p. 296.
18. Fanam, a small coin used in South India, "Malalay and Tamil *fanam* meaning 'money'." Its value differed, "but according to old Madras monetary system prevailing till 1818, 42 *fanams* went to one star pagoda." (*Hobson-Jobson*, pp. 348-349). Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 329) makes it equivalent to  $4\frac{1}{4}$ d., but some were worth double i.e., 9d.
19. It is not clear what copper coin is meant. The word is probably a corruption of 'cash' "a name applied by Europeans to sundry coins of low value" current in South India. (80 cash=1 fanam). See, *Hobson-Jobson*, pp. 167-168.

20. Palakollu in Kistna district, Madras 6 miles from Narsapur. The Dutch had a factory here in the middle of the seventeenth century. (*Madras Provincial Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 327).
21. Probably Draksharamam (?) in Godavari district, Madras. There are two Dutch tombs in the village. (*Godavari Dist. Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pp. 250-252).
22. Bimlipatam in Vizagapatam district, Madras. The Dutch established a factory here in the 17th century. For its imports and exports, see *Madras Provincial Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pp. 261-262.
23. Chicacole (*Srikakulam*) in Ganjam district, Madras. "Its muslins were at one time as famous as those of Dacca or Arni", but the industry has now declined (*Madras Provincial Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pp. 222-223).
24. See Tavernier, Vol. II, pp. 120-121.
25. Imam Husain, the second son of Ali, and grandson of the Prophet of Islam; the anniversary of his martyrdom is observed by the Shias in the month of Muharram. Bilgrami and Willmott suggest that Thevenot alludes here to the langur procession which takes place on the fifth of Muharram. (Vol. II, pp. 575-578). The first ten days of the Muharram are considered sacred, and the 10th of Muharram is specially consecrated by the death of Husain.
26. Yezid I, the son of Muawia, the founder of the Ummayyad dynasty of Caliphs.

## CHAPTER X

1. An old town north of Hyderabad. It is not traceable on modern maps, but is marked in Orme's map.
2. Momanpet and Panchnigal. Under their old names. they are shown on Orme's map.
3. Kohir (24 miles south east of Bidar), and Sajjapur (Senjavurd of Orme's map).
4. The stages on the route are :—Hyderabad; Danec; Nerva (?) river; Chilkur; Penu (?) river; Shekerdeh and Yakut-kepensh (both traceable in Orme's map); Eniktala; Momanpet; Panchnigal; Kohir, Sajjapur; Mamadgi; Bidar. The two rivers are not traceable in any map.
5. Etour (Hatnur); Manjra river; Morg (Marrag); Oudeguir (Udgir); Helly (Hali); Rajoura (Rajura now known as Ahmadpur); Sourgong (Sawargaon); Careck (the Galati river); Ganga (the Godavari); Caly (Khalli on the Godavari); Raampouri (Rampuri Buzurg, 'Rampoor' of Orme's map); Patry (Pathri Parbhani District).
6. All the places on the route are marked in Orme's map, and are also available in large-scale modern maps. They are :—Pathri; Gohegaon; Dudna river; Putah; Ner; Seouny (Shivni); Chendequé (Sindkhed); Ourna river (Amna river); Jafarabad; Piply (Pimpalgaon); Deoulgan (Devalghat); Rouquera (Rohankhed); Malkapur; Nerver River (Nalganga river); Purna river (Purna river); Papour (Dapora); Tapti river and Burhanpur.
7. Pathri, in Parbhani district, situated in 19° 15' N. and 76° 27' E. (*Hyderabad State Gazetteer*, p. 223).
8. Manjra, the largest tributary of the Godavari; the Galati and the Godavari.
9. Udgir in Bidar District. The fort formerly held by Bijapur kings was captured by the Mughals in 1635. (*Hyderabad State Gazetteer*, p. 292).
10. Rajura now known as Ahmadpur.
11. Dudna, which joins the Purna; Nerver (the Nalganga); the Purna, and the Tapti.
12. Cholera, from Konkani and Marathi *Modyachi*. For details see, *Hobson-Jobson*, pp. 586-589; Pyrard, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 13-14. Garcia da Orta also recommended cauterization of the patient's feet (Vol. I pp. 264-265). Dr. Fryer confirms the account of Thevenot when he says—"They apply cauteries most unmercifully in a *Mordisheen*" (Vol. I, p. 286). Linschoten mentions the disease (Vol. I, pp. 235-236) and Dellon refers to the common treatment.

13. *Rheum emodi*, Vern. *Hindi-revand chini* used as a purgative. (Watt, Vol. VI, part I, pp. 485-486).
14. *Cuminum cyminum*; *zira*, *jitaka*: The plant is cultivated throughout India 'except perhaps Bengal and Assam'. The seeds are useful in dyspepsia and diarrhoea. (Watt, Vol. II, pp. 642-645).
15. Linschoten also found this distemper quite common at Goa (Vol. I, p. 236).



# INDIAN TRAVELS OF CARERI

## BOOK I

### CHAPTER I

1. Literally "roof".
2. Also known as Black Friars. The fourth mendicant order so-called because they lived according to the rule of St. Augustine. They were governed by a general elected by chapter, and provincials looked after the order in different countries. Originally their manner of life was comparatively mild but later reforms imposed great austerity and some of the congregations used to go bare-footed. Martin Luther was originally an Augustinian and friars of this order did considerable missionary work in India under the aegis of the Portuguese.
3. Daman.
4. 'Martedi' in the Italian original means Tuesday and not Monday.
5. Congo-Bunder, Kongun on the Persian Gulf, 100 miles west of Gombroon. It is mentioned as a port for Lar in the *Persian Travels*, pp. 232-4 (cited in Ball's Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 85 n 6). See also Curzon, *Persia*, Vol. II, p. 408; *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 246.
6. This appears to be an exaggeration. The customs duties never exceeded 5 per cent. Tavernier writes: "Private individuals pay as much as 4 and 5 per cent duty on all their goods; but as for the English and Dutch Companies, they pay less" (Vol. I, p. 7).
7. This word is a corruption of the Portuguese *gentio*, 'a gentile' or heathen which they applied to the Hindus (*Hobson-Jobson*, pp. 367-369).
- 7a. Father Francis of St. Joseph and Father Constantine of the Holy Ghost were both Portuguese Augustinians. They were with Careri at Ispahan and sailed for Surat in November 1694. (Careri, *A Voyage Round the World*, pp. 167 and 187).
8. The Damanganga.
9. Detached.
10. 'e tutta la costa' (and the whole coast) has been omitted in the translation.
11. Old writers constantly applied the term 'winter' to the rainy season, a usage which has now become obsolete.
12. Daman has two forts originally erected for the defence of the two banks of the river Damanganga. Careri refers to the old fort, inside which the governor's palace and important churches and hospitals were situated.
13. The governor of Daman is still the civil and military head of the administration subject to the authority of the governor-general of Goa.
14. A half-caste or Eurasian now called *misturados* at Goa. Dalgado explains the term as offspring of parents of different races. In India, he adds, the term applies to those who have for their ancestors, near or remote, a European man and an Indian woman or vice versa (Vol. II, p. 51). Careri himself explains this term in Chapter VI.
15. Recollects. Tavernier (Vol. I, p. 183) describes the Capuchins as a kind of Recollects. They are members of an Observantine branch of the Franciscan Order, which originated in Spain towards the close of the 15th century and were so-named because of their detachment from creatures and recollection in God which the founders aimed at. (T. Arnold and W. E. Addis, *A Catholic Dictionary*, p. 774).
16. Ostend, "the second port of Belgium" situated on the North Sea. It was strongly fortified in the middle ages and underwent a famous siege during 1601-1604.

17. 'In Picardy' is not to be found in the Italian text which has 'Cales, ed altri di quell Oceano'—Calais and other ports of that ocean.
18. Wrongly translated—more correctly 'unless there is a strong favourable wind' (purché non vi sia un gran vento favorevole).
19. No mention of the "Spring Tide" in the text. The more accurate rendering ought to be—"because of the greater change in the sea at that time and the increase of waters."
20. Bislunga in the text means oblong. More accurately it is of the shape of an oblong.
21. Martim Affonso de Sousa came to India in 1534 with a fleet of five vessels and had a commission as admiral of the Indian Sea. The same year he was sent against Daman at the head of a large fleet and reduced the fort without much difficulty. Next he was invited by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat to fortify Diu. (Danvers, Vol. I, pp. 405-406). Subsequently he was appointed governor of the Portuguese territories in India (1542-45). For details, see R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, pp. 279-290.
22. Dom Constantino de Braganza. Danvers (Vol. I, p. 511) mentions that he was the brother of Theodosius, Duke of Braganza. He was appointed governor in 1558 and sailed from Lisbon on 7 April with four ships and 2000 men, and arrived in India early in September. The city and the fortress of Daman were occupied on 2 February, 1559 by the Portuguese (*Bombay Presy. Gaz.*, Vol. II, p. 582, Danvers, Vol. I, pp. 511-12).
23. Sayful-Muluk Miftah, an Abyssinian noble (called Cide Bofata by Portuguese historians). Francisco Barreto had obtained a grant of the territory of Bassein, and Daman from the king of Gujarat for the Portuguese, but Sayful-Muluk refused to surrender Daman even when ordered by Imad-ul-Mulk Arslan (Commissariat, pp. 4623). No sooner had the Portuguese landed than the enemy fled abandoning the city as well as the fortress, which the governor immediately occupied (1559) see Danvers, Vol. I, pp. 511-12.
24. The earliest attempts to conquer Daman were made by the Mughals under Akbar soon after the conquest of Gujarat. Akbar in 1572 threatened an attack, but this was soon followed by a treaty. (Danvers, Vol. II, pp. 3-4). Eleven years later (1583) on his final conquest of Gujarat, Akbar again attempted to acquire Daman and Bassein. But the Portuguese forced the Mughals to retire. (Faria in Kerr, Vol. VI, p. 442 cited in *Thana District Gazetteer*, Part II, Thana, p. 453). Under Jahangir in 1613, in consequence of an injury done to their fleet at Surat, the Mughals besieged Daman and other Portuguese ports, desolated the country and had to be bought off. (Danvers, Vol. II, p. 162; *Thana Dist. Gaz.*, Vol. II, p. 453).
25. 'Fiftyfive' and not 'fifty', 'cinquanta cinque anni' in the text.
26. The reference is to the siege of Daman in 1638 by the Mughals during Aurangzeb's first viceroyalty of the Deccan (1636-1644). The siege lasted for four or five months without any success, and the Portuguese had the better of the Mughals in many sallies. In spite of this, the Portuguese were obliged to pay "the same rent they were accustomed to give the Raja of that Country viz. 60,000 Mahmudis." Peace was made through the intervention of President Fremlin, the chief of the English Factory at Surat. (Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1637-1641*, p. 214; Saxena, *Shah Jahan*, p. 302).
27. 'Seis mesi' (six months) in the text.
28. 'Archibusi e moschetti' (Arquebuses and Muskets) in the text.
29. Not 'cockle-shells' but 'young pigs', 'porcelletti' or small pieces of pork.
30. Spanish 'pedrero', an engine for flinging stones, later a piece of ordnance for discharging pieces of broken iron etc., and for firing salutes. Fryer, Vol. I, p. 271 n 3).
31. 'Con molta splendidezza'—with much splendour.
32. Kafris, ('cafri' in Italian original) a common appellation for Negroes from Arabic *kafir*, an infidel.
33. They lie full length.
34. Bamboa—Bamboo ('bambu' in original Italian).

35. Portuguese 'Andor', 'a litter', used for palanquin by old Portuguese writers. It may have been derived from Sanskrit *hindola*, 'a swing or cradle'. (Hobson-Jobson, pp. 29-30).
36. From Italian 'cosa-llino', a thing of trifling value. Apparently this appears to have been the smallest coin of Naples, but I have not been able to evaluate it.
37. More correctly 'cloth' or 'canvas'.
38. 'Solamente' (alone, only) after 'pane' (bread) has been omitted in the translation.
39. Sanskrit *sura*, an alcoholic drink described by Careri in detail in Chap. VIII.
40. Between 'Coco-nuts' and 'Mansanas' add 'mangoes, figs, papayas, carambolas'. For a description of these fruits see Chap. VIII.
41. Casava. It is known as the sweet cassava. (See Watt, *Dict. of Economic Products*, Vol. V, p. 157). Hawkins has described a meal of cassava and the root (*Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Vol. XVII, pp. 99 and 523).
42. Instead of 'creatures of' read 'animals like'.
43. From Gujarati *bekri* or Marathi *bhenkre*, barking deer, *Cervulus muntjac* of Lydekker.
44. The sambar deer, *Cervus unicolor* (see Lydekker, *The Game Animals of India, Burma, Malaya and Tibet*, pp. 223 ff).
45. An animal of the genus antelope. The species mentioned here is most likely the *chinkara* or Bennett's gazelle (Lydekker, *op. cit.*, p. 201).
46. Careri's "dive" should be identified with Dr. Dellon's "adive", the South Indian jackal, *Canis aureus naria*. Dellon says that "adive is as big as a medium-sized dog, hides under earth during the day-time and comes out in search of food at night. It has a plaintive cry and dogs are at perpetual feud with it and keep it off the houses. He also refers to its supposed co-operation with the tiger. (*Nouvelle Relation d'un Voyage fait aux Indes Orientales*, pp. 109-110). Also see Pocock, *Mammalia*, Vol. II (Fauna of British India), pp. 100-109.
47. Meru is the Marathi name of sambar. (See *supra*, Thevenot, Part III, Book I, Chap. XXI, n. 15). Rose is the name of *nilgai* and not the female Sambar as Careri seems to think. He refers probably to the tuft of hair that hangs from the animal's breast as the rose.
48. Does he mean Caracal whose tufted ear may look like hairy horns? The animal however does not occur near Daman, but is to be found in Sind and Central India.
49. Probably flying squirrels. *Kal Manjar* or black tree-cat is without wing-like appendages.
50. From Marathi *bibia* and Konkani *Biby*, the Panther, *Panthera pardus fusca*, see Pocock, *Mammalia*, Vol. I (Fauna of British India), pp. 226 ff.
51. *Chita*, or a hunting leopard, *Acinonyx jubatus venaticus*. (Pocock, *op. cit.*, pp. 325 ff).
52. Obviously the Royal Tiger, *Panthera tigris* of Pocock (*op. cit.*, p. 197). It cannot be the Indian lion as Careri describes it as one of "the three sorts of Tigers each differing from the other in bigness of Body, and variety of Spots."
53. Slowly.
54. Add "which the terrain and the height of the trees allow": *che lo permette il terreno, e l'altezza degli alberi*.
55. Dalgado says that in Portuguese Asia, this name came to be associated with the common Myna. The city bird must be the common Myna, *Acridotheres tristis* with black head and neck and a broad white patch on the wings. The country species is probably the grey-headed Myna, *Sturnia malabarica*.
56. Lit. he who does business in India.
57. Add 'only' after 'fashion'.
58. Mort de Chien (Cholera) see Thevenot, Book II, Chap. X, n. 12.
59. It is not clear to what disease Careri refers here. Thevenot mentions four different types of colic (Part III, Bk. II, Chap. V) and it is not unlikely that



Bombaraki and Naricut are some forms of the same disease. Garcia da Orta has nothing to say about either of them.

60. Add here "and of their children".
61. From Portuguese 'candala', sort of covering for the legs. (Michaelis, *Portuguese-English Dictionary*, Pt. I, p. 131).
62. Correctly "cloth".
63. Portuguese 'cabaya' or 'caba' from Arabic *kaba*, vesture, a long coat or tunic of muslin. See Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. I, Ch. XX.
64. Cotton or woollen cloth.
65. Brass.
66. Paid the expenses and gave a splendid dinner.
67. Derived from Portuguese 'galeota'. In India it took the form of gallivat. For a description, see Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, pp. 179 ff.

## CHAPTER II

1. Ports.
2. Frigate.
3. About 9 P.M.
4. Suwali, a roadstead near the mouth of the Tapti, about 12 miles from Surat.
5. Sequin of Venice (See Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. I, Ch. IX, Note 20).
6. Pilavoine was Director of the French Factory at the time. The home authorities decided in January 1695 to replace him by Jean Baptiste Martin (Paul Kaepelin, *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales et Francois Martin*, p. 236), but Pilavoine could not leave till July 1696 (p. 341).
- 6a. Kept me in his house—'ritenne in sua casa'.
7. This is a mistake. Surat is situated in 21° 12' N. Lat. and 72° 50' E. Long.
8. Shivaji sacked Surat in 1664, and again in 1670. The wall was built after the first sack of Surat in 1664. Cf., Fryer's description, Vol. I, pp. 229 ff.; Thevenot, III, Chap. VII and *note*; Ovington, pp. 129 ff. Shivaji and Kakaji were two different persons. The latter was the ruler of the petty state of Jawhar in the Thana District.
9. Surat in the 17th century had two governors, one in charge of the castle, and another of the city. Cf., Ovington, p. 136. Thevenot also mentions these two officers.
10. Ahmadabad.
11. Seen in Europe.
12. The Portuguese were never masters of Cambay, Broach and Surat as the author suggests.
13. Not 'retired to the sea', the correct version is—'and the sea receded'.
14. 'Trade' and not 'splendour' in the original.
15. Broach, about 37 and not 10 miles from Surat. It was well-known for its cotton manufactures and the English and the Dutch had their factories there in the 17th century.
16. Inaccurate translation. It should be 'there is better sale for its commodities than at Surat'.
17. The Narbada.
18. For the French Capuchins at Surat, see Thevenot, Chapter X and *note*.
19. Banyan-tree. The Indian fig tree (*Ficus Indica* or *Ficus bengalensis*). According to Yule, the name was first bestowed upon a famous tree of this species growing near Gombroon in Persia under which the banyas or Hindu traders had built a little pagoda (Hobson-Jobson, p. 65).
20. Called 'Mameva' by Thevenot. (Chap. XIV). Probably a corruption of 'Mahamaya'. Pietro Della Valle correctly calls her 'Parvete (Parvati) whom they hold to be the wife of Mahaden'. (Vol. I, p. 35).
21. Rio Ram is obviously a misprint for Dio Ram—the god Rama—in the original.
22. Instead of 'quite naked' read 'everywhere naked'.

23. Tavernier, (Vol. I, pp. 63-4) mentions a few such hospitals at Ahmadabad. Fryer (Vol. I, p. 138), Linchoten (Vol. I, p. 253) and Ovington (p. 177) all refer to animal hospitals.
24. At 10 P.M.

## CHAPTER III

1. "Martedi"—Tuesday and not Thursday.
2. Boys; palanquin-bearers, from Marathi caste name Bhoi (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 110).
3. Add "by boat" after "thence".
- 3a. Portuguese 'religioso', a member of a religious order, a monk.
4. Add "for its defence" after "having".
5. Add "at ten o'clock" before "when".
6. Bassein (*Vasai*, from *Vasati*—'The Settlement') in Thana District, Bombay. (See Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. I, Ch. XVI, Note 18).
7. Tarapur, a port in the Mahim sub-division of Thana District, about 15 miles north of Mahim.
8. Read "fort" after "this".
9. The great hill fort of Asheri about 8 miles from Manor on the Vaitarna. It was captured by the Portuguese in 1556. The fort was the head-quarters of one of the seven parganas under Bassein. It was captured by the Marathas in February 1739 (Danvers, Vol. II, p. 409).
10. Mahim or Kelve in Thana District, 56 miles north of Bombay town.
11. *Ilha de vaccas* of the Portuguese, otherwise known as "Arnalla". Hamilton mentions that it was 'of small Account in the Table of Trade'. (*A New Account of the East Indies*, Vol. I, p. 104). It commands the southern and main entrance into the Vaitarna river (Da Cunha, *Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein*, p. 159).
12. For 'and' read 'or'.
13. "Parangue", a small cargo boat common on the western coast of India. (Michaelis, *op. cit.*, p. 536).
14. For "the small island and the continent" read "the island of Salsette and the main land".
15. Add "finally on" before "Thursday".
16. More correctly 19° 20' N. and 72° 49' E.
17. Nuno da Cunha, Portuguese Viceroy in India (1529-38). He first opened up direct and regular trade with Bengal, and obtained possession of the island of Diu in 1535 from Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. (See Whiteway, *op. cit.*, Chap. XI).
18. John III (1502-1557), King of Portugal, ascended the throne in December, 1521. His reign was marked by the ascendancy of the clerical party and decline of trade and commerce.
19. Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. (See Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. I, Ch. XVIII).
20. According to Fernandes (*A Guide to the Ruins of Bassein*, p. 4) the fortifications were completed towards the close of the 16th century, and had ten bastions.
21. Philip IV (1605-1665), King of Spain. It was during his reign that Portugal separated from the Spanish Empire (1640).
22. The reference is probably to the plague of 1689 (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 337). Between 1686 and 1696, there was a severe outbreak of plague in Western India which wrought great havoc in Bassein, Thana and Chaul (*Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. II, pp. 71-72).
23. The civil and military government was vested in the captain. The post of the general of the north was established about the year 1690. (Fernandes, *op. cit.*, p. 4, n 1).
24. For "or Governor" read "who is governor in charge of arms."
25. Portuguese 'ovidore', 'ouvidor' i.e., supervisor. (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 649).

26. A chief judge.
27. Add "of the same monastery" after "Fathers".
28. Read "the prodigy of" instead of "I did on".
29. More correctly "or".
30. "Wide" and not "long".
31. This is very common even now, "the stick" used is usually of *neem* and *babul* or *kikar*.
32. Read "coverlets" for "Blankets".
33. And "wood and" before "cords".
34. Lar in Persia about 40 miles from Teheran.
35. After "Martyrs" add "Visitor of the Augustinians".
36. Bhadrapur of the Marathas.
37. For "activity" read "dexterity" and omit "Tumblers and" before "rope dancers".
38. Read "after dinner" after "Wednesday 2nd".
39. Casabe from 'Kasaba' meaning a small town inhabited by decent people or families of rank (Da Cunha, p. 157). Casabe de Bacaim had according to Da Cunha eight *hortas* or orchards and sixteen *pacarias* or suburbs (p. 158). It was therefore a fairly big town.
40. Da Cunha says that this is "not to be found in the lexicons of the Italian language, the symptoms undoubtedly point to the plague" (p. 142 n).
41. Thana, chief town of the district of the same name on G. I. P. Railway, 21 miles north-east of Bombay city. It was a place of great commercial importance in the Muslim days. (Da Cunha, pp. 165 ff).
42. See Thevenot, Book I, Chap. XXXVIII, Note 39.
43. Kakaji. He ravaged several villages in 1690 and came close to Bassein. (*Thana Dist. Gaz.*, Part II, p. 481).
44. The Church of *Nossa Senhora das Mercês* built by Dom Fr. Aleixo de Menezes, the archbishop, who fought 'the interesting sect' of the Syro-Chaldeans of Southern India (*Chronista de Tissuary*, Vol. I, p. 63 cited by Da Cunha, p. 161 n). Da Cunha says that this church was in charge of the Franciscans.
45. It has been described as 'the most handsome piece of architecture in Bassein'. The foundation was laid in 1549 and the present edifice was built in 1560 replacing the original one with thatched roof. (Fernandes, pp. 24 ff).
46. Paulist. The first and the principal Jesuit College at Goa was named after St. Paul. Many of their churches were also dedicated to the same saint and hence they were commonly known as Paulists. (*P. Della Valle*, Vol. I, p. 142; *Bombay Gaz.*, Vol. XI, Kalaba and Janjira, p. 294 n).
47. More accurately—'afterwards I went to see the Dormitory and the Cloister which are the best in the City.'
48. The church with the convent was built in 1588. The monastery is a massive pile, built in the form of a square. "It has a large and beautiful cloistered arcade enclosing a spacious courtyard completely shut in from the sight of the outer world." (Fernandes, pp. 22-23). Careri is wrong in stating that the church had three altars. Actually it has seven altars.
- 48a. "Next to those of the General of the North's palace, and separated from them by a large oblong area which was the garden of the palace are the ruins of the "Misericordia" and of the Hospital attached to it." The church was a handsome building. The hospital enjoyed a munificent grant from the treasury. It was very near the Church of *Nossa Senhora da Vida* where Careri heard Mass two days later (Da Cunha, pp. 225-226).
49. Now in ruins, the church and the monastery were to the right of the Augustinian church. The original monastery and a small church were built by Frei Antonio do Porto as early as 1536. St. Francis Xavier resided here on three occasions for a short while (Fernandes, pp. 30-31).
50. The parish church of *Nossa Senhora da Vida* was under the charge of the Augustinians. Also known as *Nossa Senhora da Saude* (Da Cunha, p. 161). According to Fernandes, "The church of *Nossa Senhora da Vida* came to



- be known as the church of the *Misericordia* from the hospital of the same name in its vicinity." (*A Guide to the Ruins of Bassein*, p. 17). Careri however, mentions the churches of *la vida* and *Misericordia* separately. He heard mass at *Misericordia* on Sunday the 6th and at *la Vida* on the 8th. Fernandes's remark therefore refers to a later period.
51. The hospital of Mercy or of the *Misericordia* conducted by the Hospitallers or Brothers of St. John of God. Fernandes identifies it with a large building in front of the church of *Nossa Senhora da Vida* (p. 18). Da Cunha has, however, placed this hospital in the Dominican convent (p. 225). The date of the building is not known.
  52. "Wednesday" and not "Monday". 'Mercordi' in the text.
  53. Read "Took an andora and went" after 'I'.
  54. The 'Matriz' or Cathedral of St. Joseph. This cathedral was built in or about the year 1546 during the governorship of Dom Joao de Castro. For description of the church see Da Cunha, pp. 214-216.
  55. A piece of eight or a dollar.

## CHAPTER IV

1. Salsette, a large island north of Bombay in Thana District having an area of 246 square miles. It was seized by the Portuguese early in the sixteenth century. Its name is derived from Sanskrit *Shashti* by which name it is still known among the Marathas as it was alleged to contain that number of villages. See Da Cunha, p. 188; *Hobson-Jobson*, pp. 786-788; *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 411-12.
2. Kanheri caves in Thana District, Bombay, about 7 miles from Borivli on the B. B. & C. I. Railway. The name Kanheri is derived from Prakrit *Kanhagiri* and Sanskrit *Krishnagiri*, but the caves, more than one hundred in number, are of Buddhist origin. According to Cunningham some of them date back to the first century B.C. while several inscriptions refer to the Satavahana kings. For a full description of the caves, see *Bombay Gaz.*, Vol. XIV (Thana, Places of Interest), pp. 121-190; Fergusson, *History of Indian And Eastern Architecture*, Vol. I, pp. 162 ff.
3. This is purely imaginary. Garcia da Orta in his *Colloquios* (Vol. II, pp. 341, 346) says that the caves were attributed by some people to the Chinese who often visited this coast. Fryer (Vol. I, pp. 187-8) refers to the Alexander tradition but does not treat it seriously.
4. Careri was by no means the first European traveller to visit Kanheri. Garcia da Orta refers to the cave temples of Kanheri, Mandapeshwar and Elephanta in his *Colloquios* (Vol. II, pp. 340-342) first published at Goa in 1563. The Dutchman, John Huyghen van Linschoten, who spent five years in India, from September 1583 to January, 1589, gives a short account of the caves of Kanheri and Elephanta. His description substantially agrees with that of Garcia da Orta and may have been borrowed from him (Vol. I, pp. 289-291). Diogo de Couto, the famous Portuguese chronicler describes the caves in greater details. He however greatly exaggerated both the size of the place and the number of cells. Among later travellers who wrote about Kanheri, Fryer, Hamilton, Du Perron, Lord Valentia and Bishop Heber may be mentioned. Cunningham was of opinion that the celebrated Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang also visited the caves of Kanheri.
5. Pietro Della Valle (1586-1652) travelled widely over the near and the middle east. He spent nearly ten years in Turkey, Asia Minor, Egypt and Persia but his sojourn in India was comparatively brief (February 1623 to November 1624) and his travels in this country were limited to the west coast only. He visited Cambay, Ahmadabad, Chaul, Goa, Ikkeri, Barcelore, Mangalore and Calicut. The Indian part of his travels has been published by the Hakluyt Society.
6. Careri describes the ruins of Darius's palace in Chap. IX, Book II, of his

*Voyage to Persia*, pp. 170-172. He also copied some cuneiform inscriptions and sketched the ruins and some of the sculptures he saw. Pietro Della Valle did visit the ruins of Persepolis.

7. Chehil Minar or the Hall of Xerxes at Persepolis described by Fergusson as "the pride and glory of Persepolis and of Persian architecture". The hall contains forty columns. (*The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis*, pp. 138 ff). See also Thevenot, *Travels into the Levant*, Part II, Book III, Chap. VII.
8. Add "I can say truly that" before "tho' a poor man".
9. Jean Baptiste Tavernier, the famous French traveller (1605-1689). His first publication appeared under the title *Nouvelle Relation du Serrail du Grand Signior* in 1675, and a year later appeared his 'magnum opus' the *Six Voyages*. For details of his life, see Ball's Introduction to Tavernier, *Travels in India*; Oaten, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-192.
10. Not traceable on modern maps. According to Careri's account, it was a mile (probably to the north) from Mandapeshwar and six miles from Bassein. There is a place called Dahisar about six miles to the south of Bassein and a mile to the north of Borivli. It is not unlikely that Dahisar is Careri's Deins.
11. Ghodbandar, a small village and port in Salsette, 10 miles north-west of Thana. The local church was named after St. John. (See *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIV, Thana, Places of Interest, pp. 99-100).
12. Thirsty. The sentence should begin as follows: "I having arrived hot and thirsty".
13. Mandapeshwar in Salsette, called Montpezier or Monpacer by the Portuguese, in the neighbourhood of Borivli. The cave-temple mentioned both by Garcia da Orta and Diogo do Couto was originally dedicated to Shiva. The sculptured figures were either defaced or plastered over by the Portuguese, but in a small room behind the main hall where an image of the Virgin has been installed a bas-relief of Nataraja attended by other gods can now be seen.
14. Lord Valentia (1804) has also given a description of it. "Under the church a small pagoda has been formed out of the rock; it is square and flat-roofed, with a few deities, and other figures, in basso-relievo." (*Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, etc.*, Vol. II, p. 182).
15. The college founded by the great Franciscan missionary, P. Antonio de Porto. Lord Valentia wrongly attributes it to the Jesuits. The monastery and college were abandoned when Anquetil du Perron visited the place in 1760, but the humanitarian work has now been resumed and the church restored.
16. Read "abominable" after "their".
17. Elsewhere Dr. Careri writes: "A *Murais* (Mura) is twenty five *paras*, and the *para* twenty four pounds Spanish". The actual measurement varied from place to place but ordinarily a *mura* was equivalent to half a *khandi* or ten *maunds*. According to Antonio Nunez, quoted by Dalgado, a *mura* of rice measured three *khandis* (Vol. II, p. 81).
18. Brothers—"Fрати" in the original text.
19. Cashi, two miles south of Ghodbandar. The village has a church dedicated to St. Jerome (*Bombay Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, Thana, Places of Interest, p. 51).
20. "House" is obviously a misprint for "horse". ("Cavallo" in the original text). A more accurate rendering would be—I was forced to content myself with a wretched horse.
21. "Cibo"—food or nourishment and not "meat".
22. More correctly—as the gentile was not very experienced.
23. Read "who put us back into the lost road."
24. "erta" in the text means steep, not bare.
25. Translator's error, should be "west" and not "east". ("Occidentale" in the text).
26. The two pillars which support the front screen in Cave No. 1 at Kanheri *Bombay Dist. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, p. 165.

27. Obviously a printing error. "20" in figures in the text.
28. Another printing error, should be "forty".
29. Grottos.
30. Add here—"entered by three doors".
31. Cannot be clearly discerned.
32. Cave No. 2A. See plate LVI of Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*. In the centre, Buddha is seated on the lotus, with his hands in the *vyakhyana mudra*. On one side is a *chauri* holder, on the other is Padmapani with a *chauri*. Over Buddha's head are two *Gandharva* figures with garlands while the stem of the lotus seat is upheld by two *nagas*.
- 32a. Cave No. 2 C. This description applies to three figures only.
- 32b. *Padmapani*. The lotus bud on a lengthy stem is wrongly described as a fruit and a tree.
- 32c. All Buddhas in *Vykyhanamudra*.
- 32d. Cave No. 2 D. Buddha and *Padmapani*.
33. The Great Chaitya Cave (Cave No. 3). (*Bombay Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 121 ff., Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-70, Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, pp. 350-353).
34. Wide.
35. The capital of the northern column at the entrance to cave No. 3, supports three fat figures holding behind them something like a great bowl, and on the capital of the southern column are four seated lions. These two columns are known as *Sinha Stambhas* or 'Lion-Pillars'. The shield is now missing; probably it was a wheel—the *Dharma chakra*.
36. In circumference.
- 36a. Probably inscription No. 10 of Plate LI in Burgess, *Elura Cave Temples* which records that "it is the Stupa of the Thera, the venerable Dharmapala" dedicated by a goldsmith's wife.
37. Read "you pass through" instead of "there are".
38. Level.
- 38a. No. 4 of Plate II in Burgess: *Elura Cave Temples*. The work was executed during the reign of Gautamiputra Sri Satakarni by some merchants.
39. Two standing Buddhas about 23 feet high. They have long pendant ears but wear no pendants.
- 39a. No. 9 of Plate LI. The language is of the Gupta period.
40. Read "aisles" for "isles".
41. Read "by their diligence" after "never".
42. Cave No. 67. There are numerous figures sculptured all over the walls; their number is easily above 300.
43. More correctly "whose length is that of the pagoda and width eight spans."
44. "Fifty" in figures in the original text, not "five".
45. "Upon" and not "under".
46. This is still commonly done in India.
47. Read "my raging hunger" after "satisfy".
48. Read "About two hours and half of night".
49. Read "Had talked together".
50. Read "At this news, I began to have hope of restoring myself with something good".
51. Read "I was twice on the point of stretching my hand and changing plates with him".
52. Turnsole. Vern. *Shadevi*, *Sonballi*, *Subali* Hind; *Kukronda* Ph. etc. (See Watt, Vol. II, pp. 621 ff).
53. *Ghia-Kakri*, genus *Cucurbita* (Watt, Vol. II, pp. 638-64).
54. *Ananas sativa*, the pine-apple. See Book I, Chap. VIII.
55. Papaya. *Carica papaya* (*Hobson-Jobson*, pp. 670-71).
56. Add "if" between slaves and they and delete "and".
57. Rice *bhat*, *Oryza Sativa*.
58. Covado, a cubit or ell, a lineal measure which varies in different places. The Surat cubit, according to Ovington, was of 27 inches.



59. Read "for cloth" instead "for long measure".
60. The translation here is not quite accurate. It should be "But those who hold in fee pay an imposition according to the rents, *Los Foros* (Taxes) (which is equivalent to the Adoa in the Kingdom of Naples)."
61. Bombay. In Humphrey Cooke's report "it's some eight miles in length and five miles and a half broad." (*English Factories in India*, 1665-67, p. 46). Sir William Foster points out that the mile at that time had not its present definite length, and three to four miles, therefore, would be a correct estimate of Bombay's breadth. The actual width is about 3 miles.
62. By the recent construction of causeways and breakwaters, Bombay is now connected on the north end with Salsette. (*Bombay Presidency Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 210).
63. See Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. I, Ch. XLVIII.
64. Bandra (*Bandora*, *Vandra*), nine miles to the north of Bombay city. For a contemporary account, see Fryer, Vol. I, p. 183.
65. Versova, a small village and port on the west coast of Salsette, 12 miles north of Bombay. (*Bombay Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, Thana, Places of Interest, p. 379).
66. *Tamushi*, a kind of striped cotton cloth, which is still known as Thana cloth.
67. Should be—"also for table linen".
68. Not to be found in modern maps.
- 68a. Fryer also refers to this tradition (Vol. I, p. 191).
69. The reference is obviously to the cave temple of Elephanta.
70. After "and" add "on arrival at the monastery".
71. Goa (not India) in the original text. Dom Pedro Antonio de Noronha, Conde de Villa Verde, Viceroy of India from 1693-98, fought several actions with the Arabs on the sea. (Danvers, Vol. II, pp. 371 ff., Fonseca, p. 93).
72. The city replied with another royal salvo.
73. Muscat, capital of Oman on the sea-coast situated in 23° 40' N., 58° 25' E. For a contemporary account see Ovington, *Voyage to Suratt*, pp. 245-251.
74. Sangameshwar in Ratnagiri District, Bombay. It was a port of some commercial importance and the headquarters of a Maratha fleet in the old days.
75. Manucci also refers to the murder of Antonio Machado de Britto but his chronology and facts are both inaccurate. The official letter communicating the news of the murder to Lisbon is dated 8th December, 1695 (*Livro das Monções do Reino*, No. 59 fol. 223, 1694-1699). Manucci's date (1696) is therefore obviously wrong. Nor was Antonio Machado in a room (Manucci, Vol. III, p. 170) when he was shot. Careri's account and date are corroborated by the official letter but he gives more details.
76. Melos were the troublesome people. Two of them were in exile for murder about 1665.
77. This was erected about the year 1542 or 1543 at the expense of the public treasury. The church has nothing remarkable about it. (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 323-324).
78. "Or rather Admiral" does not occur in the original. It is the translator's improvement.
79. The first shot was fired from the window of the house of Padre Joseph da Silva Maciel who was also in the conspiracy. See *Livro das Monções do Reino*, No. 59, fol. 223 (1694-1699).
80. Literally "tobacco".
81. Born of white father and black mother.
82. Firing two more shots with a blunderbuss.
83. As usual, "general" in the original Italian text.
84. Add—"a weapon of the coast of Mozambique".
85. This is corroborated by the official account quoted in No. 79 but it does not mention the name of the Dominican.
86. Add—"ready to leave the following day" after "Aboard".
87. Would have.
88. Being carried.
89. Manucci writes: "The reason for killing Antonio Machado Supico was his

unbridled tongue, which spared neither priests, householders, nor widow women. He abused everybody in disgraceful language, and for this he was done to death by treachery." (Vol. III, p. 170).

90. More accurately—"on a pleasant trip into the country".

## CHAPTER V

1. Manehua, a large cargo-boat with a square sail and single mast commonly used on the west coast of India, especially Malabar. It is the Portuguese from the original Malayan *Manji* (Skt. *Mancha*), so called apparently from its raised platform for cargo (*Hobson-Jobson*, pp. 549-50).
2. Returning.
3. Pangara, from Portuguese *Parangue*,—Tamil, *Padagu*, according to Dalgado; a small boat, commonly used on the west coast of India for carrying provision.
4. Trapani, capital of the Province of the same name in Sicily.
5. *Sidi*, Arab *Saiyid* "a Lord", a title of the Habshi or Abyssinian rulers of the island of Janjira, often described in Marathi records as "Shamal" or dark from their complexion. The struggle between the Marathas and the Sidi began in 1648, but neither Shivaji nor his successors ever accomplished the conquest of Janjira although they occupied the mainland (Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, p. 186). The Sidis originally held Janjira from the Sultan of Bijapur but transferred their allegiance to the Emperor of Delhi in 1670.
6. Underi, commonly known as Henery, a small island near the entrance of Bombay harbour. Fryer mentions it in 1674. The island was fortified by Sidi Kasim in 1680 and remained in his hands till the close of the seventeenth century.
7. Khanderi (Kenery) island, eleven miles south of Bombay, and only  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the sister island of Underi. The island is described by Dom Joao de Castro (1538) and Fryer (1674). It was captured by Shivaji's fleet in 1679 and held against the Sidis and the English of Bombay. Both of them are island fortresses. See, Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-190.
8. The Kundalika.
9. The 'Morro de Chaul' or the fortified hill of Korle. For an illustration, see Da Cunha, p. 45. Careri's chronology is faulty here. Diogo Lopes de Sequeira was busy elsewhere in 1520 and did not arrive at Chaul until next year (1521) when he started fortifications with the permission of Burhan Nizam Shah.
10. Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, Portuguese governor of India (1518-1521). See Danvers, Vol. I, pp. 342 ff.
11. Nizam-ul-Mulk. Obviously Burhan Nizam Shah (1508-1553). For a detailed account of his career, see Briggs, Vol. III, pp. 210-236.
12. Adil Khan or Adil Shah, the title of the rulers of Bijapur who were often at war with the rulers of Ahmadnagar and Golkonda.
13. Malik Ayaz Sultani. Originally a slave, he rose very high in the service of the sultan of Gujarat by his uncommon ability. He won several victories over the Portuguese at sea, but his attempts to prevent the fortification of Chaul proved unsuccessful.
14. Shivaji was not always unfriendly to the Portuguese. The reference is obviously to Sambhaji who led his troops almost to the walls of Goa in 1683.
15. Bijapur.
16. More accurately—"districts".
17. The author refers to the reigning Maratha king Rajaram as Shivaji, and is correct in saying that his father viz., Shivaji was the founder of the kingdom.
18. Shambhaji (1680-89) was not killed in battle. He was captured and put to death.
19. More correctly "Rajaram".

20. This is wrong. Shivaji was originally a Bijapur subject.
21. Shivaji was born at Shivner. There was a rumour that he was born a Portuguese subject to which Cosme da Guarda gave currency. See Sen, *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji*, p. 1.
22. The Bhonslas claimed, on rather insufficient evidence, descent from a branch of the ruling dynasty of Mewar.
23. Not traceable on modern maps.
24. Read "it being necessary to pass" etc.
25. The Malaber pirates. See Thevenot (Part III, Book II, Chapter I).
26. Mount Delly, headland on the coast of the Chirakkal *taluk* of Malabar district, a few miles north of Cannanore.
27. Former name of Madras.
28. Zamorin. See Thevenot, Part III, Book II, Chap. I.
29. Tanur or Vettat in Ponnai Taluk, Malabar District, Madras. See Thevenot, *loc. cit.*
30. Porakad (*Porca*), town in Travancore State situated in 9° 22' N. and 76° 22' E. It was once the capital of the Chempakasseri Rajas, and passed to Travancore in 1748. The Portuguese and the Dutch had their settlements here. (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XX, p. 188).
31. Though they have no sign of illness.
32. Recipe.
33. Wait for.
34. Dabhol, in Ratnagiri District, Bombay, fell to Shivaji in 1662. The distance between Chaul and Dabhol is nearly 70 and not 8 miles.
35. Dom Francisco de Almeida, the first Portuguese viceroy of India (1505-9). He burnt the city in 1508. The Portuguese sacked the place many times subsequently but it was never permanently occupied by them.
36. Loosely used for Muslims here.
37. The river seems to be the Shastri or Sangameshwar where the viceroy according to Careri (see Chap. IV) burnt the Arab ships.
38. Is not found on modern maps; the place should be somewhere between Vijayagad on the Shastri river and Maliandi or Malwan. It is therefore unlikely to be Vengurla. The place mentioned here is likely to be Vijayagad (Visiapur in the Italian text) on the Shastri or Sangameshwar river opposite Jayagad.
39. Malvan, a port in Ratnagiri District where Shivaji built his famous naval stronghold and arsenal of Sindhudurg.
40. Ilheos Queimados or Burnt Islands, a group of rocky islets nine miles off Vengurla. There are three large rocks and many small.
41. Baloon, Balloon etc. Probably derived from Gujarati *Baliyan* or Konkani *Baliyam*, a small light boat or canoe formerly used in different parts of India. Fryer mentions a baloon of two oars.
42. Read "To write the name upon one of my parcels of Father Salvador Galli".
43. Salvador Gallo, a native of Milan, appointed Prefect in 1672. He left Europe with four other Theatins in August 1673, and has been described as "the soul of the Theatine Mission in India." (Manucci, Vol. III, p. 127 n. 1).
44. The congregation of regular clerks, whose name is derived from Theat'i or Chieti of which one of their founders, John Peter Caraffa was Bishop. The order was founded in 1524 (Arnold and Addis, *A Catholic Dict.*, pp. 876 ff). The Mission at Goa was established in 1640 (Fonseca, p. 68).

## CHAPTER VI

1. The situation of Goa as mentioned by the author is wrong. The correct position is 15° 30' N. and 73° 57' E.
2. The Mandavi river, literally the river of the custom-house, near the mouth of which stands Goa.
3. "Which the ancient philosophers considered uninhabitable." "Inabitabile" in the Italian text means uninhabitable.



4. Governor of Portuguese India (1509-1515). For a brief but brilliant review of his Indian career see Prof. Edgar Prestage's *Albuquerque*.
- 4a. This is wrong. In 1508 Almeida was the head of the Portuguese government in India. Goa was first captured by Alfonso de Albuquerque on 17 February, 1510, but Ismail Adil Shah recovered the place soon afterwards. The final conquest and annexation of Goa was effected by Albuquerque during the same year on November 25, St. Catherine's day.
5. Malacca on the west coast of the Malaya Peninsula. The city was conquered by the Portuguese under Albuquerque on 4 August 1511. It remained a Portuguese possession for 130 years, and was an important centre of their trade and commercial exploration in south-eastern Asia. It fell to a joint attack of the Dutch and the Achinese in 1641.
6. Emanuel I (Port. Manoel) king of Portugal (1469-1521), surnamed the Happy. His reign is marked by a number of notable achievements of Portuguese navigators, particularly Vasco da Gama's discovery of an all-sea route to India and Cabral's landing in Brazil.
7. Reinforcements.
8. "After the viceroy's (palace) comes that of *Madre de Deos*, i.e., Mother of God, otherwise called *Daugim*", says François Pyrard (Vol. II, Part I, p. 33). It was a league and a half from St. Iago, he adds. It is not shown in Pietro Della Valle's chart. According to Fonseca "the convent of *Mae de Deus* in the suburb of Daugim" was built by Dom Gaspar de Leão Pereira, the first Archbishop of Goa (*Historical and Archaeological Sketch of Goa*, p. 207).
9. The *Casa de Polvora* or gunpowder factory. It is still in existence and stands near the archiepiscopal palace close to the river. Constructed by Francisco da Gama (viceroi, 1597-1600). See Fonseca, p. 326.
10. All the four forts mentioned in this para have been long abandoned. For the defensive fortification of Goa in the middle of the eighteenth century see Marquis De Alorna's *Instructions* (Sen, *Studies in Indian History*, pp. 240-243).
- 10a. Compare Fryer who writes "it (Goa) is modelled but rudely, many Houses disgracing it with their ruins" (Vol. II, p. 10). "The buildings of the city are good, large and convenient" (Pietro Della Valle, Vol. I, p. 155). Also see François Pyrard, Vol. II, Part I, p. 63.
11. People of Kanara district. But the Portuguese applied the name indiscriminately to the Konkans inhabiting Goa. The term has now an offensive significance and is applied exclusively to native Christians (Pyrard, Vol. II, p. 35 n., *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 154). For a contemporary description of the country and its people, see Fryer, Vol. II.
12. Add "Christians and" after "are".
13. Breeds.
14. Lowly birth.
15. Charados or Chardis roughly correspond to Sanskrit *sudra*.
16. Worse.
17. A small piece of cloth just sufficient to avoid nudity. Hence poorer castes who went about clad in langotis alone.
18. Prof. Pissurlencar writes that the custom of thrashing no longer exists at Goa. On the day following the wedding, the friends and relatives do sometimes make fun of the groom by throwing banana skins at him but this practice also is fast disappearing even among the poorer classes.
19. In the morning.
20. Empire.
21. Mombasa, the principal seaport of British East Africa; Mozambique a town of Portuguese East Africa under the administration of Goa, and Sofala in the east coast of Africa. The Italian original has "Senna".
22. Imagine.
23. Sometimes.
24. Francisco de Tavora, Count of Alvor, Portuguese viceroy from 1681 to 1686. In the Italian text, the name and the title are correctly given.



25. The general name of the Portuguese possessions on the west coast of Africa south of the equator. The word "Angola" is a Portuguese corruption of the Bantu *Nojola*. The Portuguese came there towards the close of the 15th century.
26. He was not accustomed to.
27. Add here "unlike the blacks of the opposite coast".
28. For a slightly different method of hunting elephants, see, *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (Extra Series), Vol. VI, p. 325.
29. The Nandi (?) and the Makua. The Makuas belong to the group of Wanyassa who live in the vicinity of Lake Nyassa and the watershed of the Zambesi. They are described as a well disposed people with an active sense of the family, and a strong feeling for the honour of their wives and daughters. I am indebted to Dr. B. S. Guha of the Anthropological Survey for this information.
30. Open country.
31. Before "No" read "on the other hand".
32. Between "they" and "use" read "sometimes".
33. Tavernier writes, "The port of Goa, that of Constantinople, and that of Toulon, are the three finest ports in both the continents" (i.e. Europe and Asia), Vol. I, p. 150.
34. One of the three islands that formed the *Velhas Conquistas* or old conquests. Bounded on the north and east by Pernem and Sanquelim—two districts of the *Novas Conquistas* or new conquests and on the west by the sea, it is separated from the island of Goa by the Mandavi river. Bardez was annexed by the Portuguese in 1543. The coast line is defended by the forts of Chapora at the northern and Agoada and Reis Magos at the southern extremities.
35. In the province of Bardez opposite Pangim on the Bay of Agoada. It was built in 1612. As the name indicates it was a watering place for Portuguese vessels. See Pyard, Vol. II, Part I, p. 30.
36. Literally the Cape—not far off from Pangim. The fort commanded the Bay of Marmagao on one side and Agoada Bay on the other and thus occupied a very important strategic point. It has long been abandoned and is now in complete ruins. (Fonseca, pp. 43-44 and Pyard, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 30-31).
37. The fortress of Reis Magos constructed in 1551 in the province of Bardez. It is on the right bank of the Mandavi opposite Gaspar Dias. (Fonseca, pp. 44-45).
38. The church of the Franciscans built in 1550 still exists, but their college is not in good preservation. (*Ibid*, pp. 45 and 66).
- 38a. Cannon.
39. Constructed in 1598 by the viceroy, Dom Francisco da Gama, on a site owned by Gaspar Dias, about a mile from Pangim or New Goa. The fort has been entirely demolished.
40. Read "most beautiful" instead of "delicate".
41. Quintas are country houses with orchards around.
42. The fortress palace of Daugi continued to be the Viceregal residence till it was abandoned by Conde de Villa Verde in 1695 for Pangim. Fryer has described some of the painting that he saw there (Vol. II, p. 15). See Fonseca, pp. 194 ff; Manucci, Vol. III, pp. 168 ff; Pyard, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 47-48.
43. To serve as.
44. The reference is to the novitiate attached to the college of St. Paul founded for the training of native converts. The college gained considerable eminence when the great St. Francis Xavier was placed at its head.
45. A small palace of recreation near the Casa de Polvora. See Fonseca, pp. 326-327.
46. Famous.
47. Citizens.
48. Add here "from the evergreen fields".
49. Add here "from a large variety of trees".

50. Pleasant.
51. Marmagao, peninsula, village and port in Salsette district, Goa, Portuguese India. The peninsula is situated on the southern side of the harbour of Goa on the left bank of the Zuari river. The fortress has been converted into a hotel. Marmagao is the terminus of the railway connecting British India with the Portuguese districts and is about an hour's journey from Pangim by sea. It has a very fine natural harbour.
52. This is about the same even now. See Fonseca, p. 4.
53. Sao Laurengo, the offshoots of the Mandavi and Zeari or Zuari rivers meet between Marcaim and Sao Laurengo.
54. The Jesuits made Salsette their main centre of activities as the Franciscans turned their attention mainly to Bardez. See Fonseca, p. 65.
55. Spiritual matters.
56. The silver cover.
57. Originally built in the days of Albuquerque and dedicated to St. Catherine, it became the archiepiscopal metropolitan church in 1557. In 1562 the viceroy Dom Francisco Coutinho started to rebuild it on a magnificent scale but it was still unfinished when Pyard saw it (Vol. II, Part I, p. 53). Fryer says that "the Cathedral is not often excelled by ours at home for bigness of the Pile" (Vol. II, p. 10). Pietro Della Valle observes, "The see of Goa at the time of my being there was not finish'd, but scarce above half built and thence seem'd to me small and less stately; but having since seen the intire design of the structure, I conceive that when 'tis finish'd 'twill be a goodly church" (Vol. I, p. 156). Finished in 1631, the Cathedral is still in use (Fonseca, pp. 198 ff.).
58. Aisles.
59. Read "not" for "but".
60. *Santa Casa de Misericórdia* (Sacred House of Mercy). Pietro Della Valle saw a solemn procession issue out of it in 1624. Pyard mistook it for the church of Nossa Senhora de Serra (Vol. II, p. 51). Fryer mentions it (Vol. II, p. 16). Hamilton's (*New Account*, Vol. I, p. 140) "beautiful church, called Miserecordia" was probably a later building on the old site. See Fonseca, pp. 244 ff.
61. See N<sup>o</sup>. 8.
62. Read "gilded" after "handsom".
63. See note No. 42.
64. In the 16th century.
65. The Dominicans arrived in Goa in 1548 and built their convent and church (1550-1564). Pyard describes the church as "exceedingly well built and decorated" (Vol. II, Part I, p. 49). According to Fryer—"the church surpassed the cathedral" (Vol. II, p. 11). See also Fonseca, pp. 253-255. The Dominicans used to conduct the inquisition. They were expelled from Goa in 1841.
66. Aisles.
67. Beautiful.
68. The convent and church of St. Augustine, and its novitiate are in the neighbourhood of St. Roch and St. John of God. Mandelslo and Cottineau testify to their beauty. First built in 1572, they were abandoned in 1835, and are now a heap of ruins. (Fonseca, pp. 311 ff; Fryer, Vol. II, p. 13; Pyard, Vol. II, p. 57). The Novitiate of the Augustinians was situated to the south of the convent. Among other travellers of recent times, Buchanan, Dr. Claudius, Capt. Franklin, and Dr. Wilson, have written about this group of buildings. The Augustinians came to Goa in 1572 and were suppressed in 1835 (Fonseca, p. 68).
69. Vaulted nave.
70. One.
71. The church and convent of St. Cajetan are situated very near the old viceregal palace. For a detailed description see Fonseca, pp. 248-250.
72. Other writers suggest that it was built after the style of the Basilica of St. Peter in Rome (Fonseca, p. 249).



73. Sago from Malay *Sagu*. Hind. *Sagu-dana*. It is prepared not from the root, as Careri was told, but from the pith of several genera of palm trees indigenous to the islands of the Indian Archipelago. See Watt, *Dict. of Economic Products*, Vol. VI, Part II, pp. 383 ff.; *Hobson-Jobson*, pp. 780-81).
74. Glue.
75. The Church of St. Francis of Assisi is situated to the west of the Cathedral near the ruins of the Palace of the Inquisition, and was built in 1521. Demolished in 1661, it was reconstructed a few years later. Fryer says the monks go about with cords instead of girdles and in sandals instead of shoes. The gold referred to by Careri is probably "the rich gilding of the altar-pieces", because its decorations were all of silver. See Fonseca, pp. 223 ff.
76. The reference is to the new College of St. Paul generally known as Convent of St. Roch. Pyrard writes: "The third house and church is founded in honour of St. Roch and is called the Novitiate where are the Portuguese novices who aspire to be Jesuits, to prove themselves whether they can persist in the observance of the rules" (Vol. II, pt. I, p. 61). The novitiate attached to the old College of St. Paul over which the great St. Francis Xavier once presided had been abandoned at the time of Careri's visit. Also see Fonseca, pp. 315-320.
77. Accommodating.
78. The convent of St. Monica was founded by Archbishop Alexio de Menezes in 1606 and completed in 1627. It was midway between St. Roch and St. John of God. It is barely mentioned by Francois Pyrard and Pietro Della Valle. For an account of the church, see Fonseca, pp. 310-311.
79. Sister Mary of Jesus, a German lady married to a Portuguese nobleman Dom Manoel de Souza; became a nun after her husband's death and died in the convent of St. Monica on 2 January 1683 at the age of seventy-eight. It was discovered that her corpse bore five marks of wounds on her hands, feet and breast resembling those of Christ. A subsequent examination by the chief physician at the instance of the governor confirmed the supernatural nature of the wounds (Fonseca, pp. 307-309).
- 79a. The reference is to the old College and Church of St. Paul.
80. It was commonly believed that a jack-tree at the foot of the Chapel was planted by St. Francis Xavier and miraculous healing power was attributed to it. (Fonseca, p. 267).
81. "Within the enclosure of the above college stood, on a small eminence, the celebrated chapel of St. Francis Xavier. It is related that on one occasion the saint, whilst at prayer, was so much overpowered by devotional fervour that he felt himself almost suffocated, and then, opening his soutane near the chest, burst into an exclamation "*Domine sat est* (Lord, it is enough)". The author of the *Oriente Conquistado* states that, according to a tradition, this chapel was erected to commemorate the above incident, on the very spot where it occurred, and that every year on a Friday in Lent high mass was celebrated, attended by the gentry of the city, but that, on the other hand, some writers, especially Father Manoel Xavier, affirm that the saint himself caused this chapel to be built, and was in the habit of saying mass there" (Fonseca, p. 266).
82. For the miracles associated with this cross see Fonseca, pp. 274-277.
83. Named after St. Thomas the Apostle of India. The reputed relics of the saint were transferred from Mylapore and enshrined here. As Careri points out it is near the college church of St. Bonaventura (Fonseca, pp. 270-272).
84. According to Pietro Della Valle's chart the college and church of St. Bonaventura stood on the Mandavi river next to the arsenal. It was built in 1602. For details see Fonseca, pp. 242-43.
85. Merses is obviously a printing mistake. The Italian text has "Eduardo Manesio" (Archbishop of Goa from 1595 to 1610). The Archbishop only directed it to be built with funds subscribed by the matrons of Bassein for founding a monastery for the nuns of St. Clare.

86. The well-known Royal Hospital begun by Albuquerque. Pyrard de Laval who was treated there has left a graphic account of it (Vol. II, Part I, p. 317). He says, "The hospital is, I believe, the finest in the world, whether for the beauty of the building . . . or for the perfect order, regulation and cleanliness observed, the great care taken of the sick and supply of all comforts that can be wished for" (p. 5). Also see Fonseca, pp. 228-236.
87. Badly administered.
88. The Holy Pillar attached to the church of *Nossa Senhora de Cabo*. Fryer thus describes it "on an hanging Hill is a Sumptuous Structure of the Capuchins called *Sancto Pillar*, the Ascent to it is by a winding Staircase cut out of the Rock, and Railed with stone Banisters" (Vol II, p. 22).
89. Add "called *Quartelles*" after "allowance".

## CHAPTER VII

1. According to Danvers (Vol. II, p. 121), the marble statue of Gama was broken into pieces by the people of Goa in 1600 as a token of their disrespect for his grandson, the retiring viceroy. It was replaced by another statue soon afterwards which Manucci (Vol. III, p. 161) and Careri saw. Professor Pissurlencar tells me that this statue of Gama is still to be found in one of the niches of the Arco dos Viceréis at Velha Goa which was constructed under the order of Dom Francisco da Gama in 1599.
2. Add "and dangerous exploration" after "voyage".
3. The Italian text mentions only the title of "General". The correct designation according to the *Roteiro* was "Captain Major", (Portuguese *Capitão Mor*) which approximates to English commodore.
4. Sao Gabriel, Sao Rafael, and Berrio. These were the three ships "fitted for war" (Danvers, Vol. I, pp. 42-43).
5. Careri seems to rely on Osorio. According to the *Roteiro*, the most authentic account of Vasco da Gama's first voyage, so far available, the journey began on Saturday, July 8, 1497. The unknown author of this incomplete journal served on board the *Sao Raphael* and his evidence may be accepted as fairly reliable. (See *Vasco da Gama's First Voyage*, p. 1 and the introduction). Barros gives the correct date (8th July). Osorio puts it one day later (9th July). Gaspar Correa antedates it by more than three months (25th March). Danvers accepted "the earliest date as the correct one", without assigning any reason for his conclusion. (Danvers, Vol. I, p. 44, Whiteway, p. 78).
6. The island of St. Iago (or English St. Jago) of the Cape Verde group is meant.
7. Diaz was the first Portuguese navigator to circum-navigate the cape which he named Cabo tormentoso or the Stormy Cape on account of the heavy gale he encountered there but the King renamed it Cabo da boa esperenza or Cape of Good Hope, as the voyage offered the Portuguese navigators a reasonable hope for finding an all-sea-route to India.
8. Instead of "a half of South Latitude" read "two thirds towards the Antarctic".
9. John II (1455-1498), "*the perfect*", ascended the throne in August, 1481.
10. Instead of "for the time to come" read "from coming".
11. The Arabian Sea.
12. Both the date of arrival and the distance of the port from Calicut seem to be inaccurate. According to the *Roteiro* (*First Voyage*, pp. 47-48) lofty mountains were sighted on the 18th May and on the 20th the ships anchored at a place called Capua two leagues from Calicut (identified by Whiteway with "Kappat a small village 8 miles north of Calicut", p. 78). Whiteway says that the fleet reached Kappat on the 17th May.

13. Before "China" read "the great empires of".
14. The Kingdom of Gujarat was known as the Kingdom of Cambay to the European travellers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
15. The Portuguese never became masters of Cambay, Surat and Dabhol like the other places mentioned here.
16. Anjdiva island, 5 miles S.W. of Karwar. Vasco da Gama visited the island in 1498 and in 1505 Almeida built a fortress here which was later on abandoned. It still forms a part of their possessions in western India (*Imperial Gaz.*, Vol. V, pp. 384-385. Danvers, Vol. I, pp. 117 ff.; Whiteway, p. 105).
17. Malacca, once a flourishing centre of commerce on the west coast of the Malaya Peninsula. It was captured by Albuquerque in 1511 and remained a Portuguese possession for the next 130 years, when it was lost to the Dutch. It finally passed into British hands in 1824.
18. Moluccas or Spice Islands. An exploratory expedition was sent by Albuquerque to the spice island immediately after the conquest of Malacca and trading posts were established in many islands of this group, with headquarters in Ternate. The native king formally ceded the Moluccas with all its dependencies to the Portuguese crown in 1564. By the beginning of the 17th century Dutch ascendancy was definitely established in the Moluccas.
19. An island of the Malay Archipelago, in the Lesser Sunda group. The island is partly Portuguese and partly Dutch. It is not certain when the Portuguese occupied the island but they came long before the Dutch.
20. An island, west of Timor.
21. It lies to the west of the mouth of the Canton River in China. Although the Portuguese were permitted to build factories at Macao as early as 1557, they did not assert their full sovereignty till 1849 until which date China used to receive an annual rent and also claimed judicial jurisdiction over the place. It was at Macao that Camoens wrote his immortal work.
22. After "length" add "and a stone-shot wide".
23. Mossoril Bay.
24. The Zambezi river in Africa (*Rio de Sena*).
25. The reference here is to St. Sebastian, at the northern extremity of the island built in 1510.
26. For "the ships of the Company" read "the trading ships".
27. Kilimane, or São Martinho de Quilimane, a Portuguese trading town in East Africa on the river of the same name. Vasco da Gama entered the river in 1498, and found a flourishing Arab settlement there. The Portuguese city founded in the sixteenth century became a big slave mart in the eighteenth. In 1861 David Livingstone began from Kilimane his journey up the Zambezi to Lake Nanyasa.
28. *Almadia* from Arab. *Al-Madiya*, a ferry-boat. Tavernier describes it as "a kind of row-boat" (Vol. I, p. 142). See also Barbosa, Vol. I, p. 14.
29. Sena, an inland port in Portuguese East Africa on the Zambezi river.
30. Sofala is situated in 20° 12' S. on the east coast of Africa at the mouth of the river of the same name. The coast of Sofala was visited by Cabral on the 16th July 1500. (Danvers, Vol. I, p. 68). Vasco da Gama did not touch at Sofala in 1498 but Covilhan had reached the port eleven years earlier from the Gulf of Ormuz down the east coast of Africa (Prestage, *Portuguese Pioneers*, p. 219). The fort was built in 1507.
31. Muscat or Muskat in Arabia, capital of the province of Oman, and a naval base of great importance commanding the entrance to the Persian Gulf. The Portuguese occupied it in 1508.
32. Ormuz— island in the Persian Gulf. On its importance and occupation by the Portuguese see Sir P. Sykes, *History of Persia*, 2nd ed., Vol. II, pp. 185 ff.
33. Larak (?) and Kishm islands in the Persian Gulf. The rest are Hornuz, Hengam, Furur, Kish, Hindrabi, Shaikh Shuaib, Jebri, Kharak and Kharaku (Khorgu).
34. Bahrein Islands, a group of islands about 20 miles east of the coast of El Hasu in the Persian Gulf. The largest of the group is called Bahrein,



- The Portuguese occupied the islands in 1507, but were dispossessed by Shah Abbas in 1622. (Encyc. Britt., Vol. II, p. 212).
35. Basra. See Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. I, Chap. I, Note 1.
  36. Onore or Honavar, town in North Kanara, Bombay, 50 miles south-east of Karwar fortified by the Portuguese in 1505. Pietro Della Valle says "Onor is a small place by the Sea-side, but a good Port of indifferent capacity." (Vol. II, p. 202). It later passed into the hands of the chiefs of Bednur from whom Haidar Ali acquired it.
  37. Barcelore or Basrur—a village in the Coondapur taluk of South Kanara District, Madras. The Portuguese Viceroy Dom Luiz de Athaide built a fortress here in 1569.
  38. Combolin which was lost by the Portuguese in 1652 (Danvers, Vol. II, p. 303).
  39. Cannanore, town and port in Malabar Dist. Madras. The Portuguese built a fort here in 1505 during the viceroyalty of Almeida. By the middle of the 17th century the Dutch captured the place which they sold to Ali Raja in 1771.
  40. Cranganor in Cochin State, the Muziris of Pliny. "Cranganor was already in decay when the Portuguese arrived. They eventually established themselves with a strong fort (1523) which the Dutch took from them in 1662." (Hobson-Jobson, p. 272). See also *Cochin State Manual*.
  41. Pallipuram in Vaipin island; had a fortress in medieval times. *Cochin State Manual*, pp. 89, 90, 93 and 377.
  42. Quilon now the second city in the Travancore state. It was formerly ruled by a queen. The Portuguese established their trade relations with Quilon and built a fort in 1505 soon after their arrival in India. They were ousted by the Dutch in 1662.
  43. Island of Manar or Manaar off the north-west coast of Ceylon almost opposite Dhanuskodi on the Indian main-land. The Portuguese built a fort there in 1560.
  44. The island was not divided into seven kingdoms when the Portuguese arrived. Mr. S. Paranavitane, Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon, informs me that "the larger territorial units into which the kingdom of Kotte was divided for administrative purposes were mostly called Korales. The number of Korales was, however, more than seven and there were some territorial units to which the term 'Korale' did not apply. One of these units was, and is still, known as the Sat Korale i.e., the Seven Korales, for it comprised a group of seven territorial divisions. Another was similarly called, as it still is, the Satara Korale i.e., the four Korales. The Korales still retain, more or less, the boundaries which they had in fifteenth century and form units for administrative purposes."
  45. Kalutara—south of Colombo on the west coast of Ceylon, nineteen miles from Mount Lavinia. It has a small Dutch fort.
  46. Capital and chief port of Ceylon on the west coast of the island. The Portuguese first visited Ceylon in 1505 and built a fort at Colombo in 1517 with the permission of the king of Kotta. In 1656 the fort was captured by the Dutch.
  47. Chilaw—about 30 miles to the north of Negombo on the west coast of Ceylon.
  48. Jaffna at the northern extremity of the island. The town was first captured by the Portuguese in 1560. The Dutch expelled the Portuguese from Jaffna in 1658 and improved the fort which still exists.
  49. "Trichil" and "Mall" should be read together—Trichilmalle appears to represent the Sinhalese name Tirikunamalee i.e. Trincomalee.
  50. See the preceding note, should not be confused with Galle.
  51. Batticaloa, 60 miles S. S. E. from Trincomalee on the east coast of Ceylon. Constantino de Sae Noronha built a fort here in 1629. In 1638 the Portuguese commander capitulated to a joint force of the Dutch and the king of Kandi.
  52. Kotta near Colombo, the capital of Ceylon during the 16th century.
  53. Negapatam, seaport in Tanjore district, Madras, (See Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. II, Ch. IX).

54. Tamluk, ancient Tamralipti, in Midnapore district, Bengal, situated on the southern bank of the Rupnarayan. In 1635 the Portuguese built a church there. Tamluk had a good slave market where the Arakan and Portuguese pirates brought their captives for sale. (*Campos Portuguese in Bengal*, pp. 96-97).
55. Macassar (Makassar, Mangkasar), the capital of the district of the same name in the island of Celebes.
56. For this practice see Sen, *Studies in Indian History*, pp. 15 ff and 184 and Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, Chap. XIII.
57. Read "for the powerful Northern Dutch Company entering into the Eastern Trade".
58. It is not known who first discovered Brazil and when. That Cabral the Portuguese navigator reached the Brazilian coast in 1500 either by accident or by design is beyond dispute. It is also a fact that Brazil ultimately became a Portuguese colony and remained so until it asserted its independence in the 19th century. Prof. Edgar Prestage writes: "Though the first part of his (Cabral's) instructions are missing there is good reason to believe that he was charged to touch at the Brazilian coast, which thenceforth entered into the route of vessels proceeding to India, and officially discover it. We do not know when Brazil was first found and by whom, but Robert Thorne dates its discovery before 1494, which would explain the insistence of John II on having the dividing line moved farther to the west; and in 1498 King Manoel secretly despatched Duarte Pacheco in the same direction. Owing to Spanish rivals it would have been imprudent to take formal possession of Brazil until India, a far more important 'conquest' had been reached, and the last step in the route to the east could not have been safely made previous to the settlement effected by the treaty of Tordesillas." For a brief but learned discussion of the subject see Edgar Prestage, *The Portuguese Pioneers*, pp. 277-291.
59. More accurately "forces".
60. Conscious.
61. The *Novas Conquistas* were acquired later.
62. Timor is famous for producing excellent sandalwood which, along with a noted breed of hardy ponies, form the chief articles of export. Barbosa refers to the white sandal of Timor and according to Garcia da Orta the major part of imported sandal comes from the island where it grew wild.
63. The head of the government was either a viceroy or a governor but there were interregnums when the administration was vested in a commission. At the time of Careri's visit to Goa there was a viceroy.
64. The *Relação das Índias* or the High Court with jurisdiction over all the Portuguese possessions in the east was established at Goa in 1544. The presiding judge was the chancellor but the number of ordinary judges or *Desembargadores* varied from time to time. There were ten of them in 1587, five in 1628 and only six in 1748. (Ponseca, p. 75).
65. "Down to the elbow" for "half way their Arms".
66. Golilla, a kind of collar forming part of the dress of the magistrates of some superior courts of justice in Spain. Read after Golillas "(inseparable from the nation)."
67. *Junta da Fazenda Publica* or council of public revenue.
68. From *Matricula*, a register, roll or statistical table. The officer was in charge of the registry office. Read "Matricula General like our Accounts office."
69. Director or chief of the Finance Department. This officer was later replaced by Vedor Geral de Fazenda.
70. A gold coin formerly current in Western India, variously known as Pardão, Varaha and Pagoda. Pardão is probably a Portuguese corruption of Sanskrit Pratapa and the coin bore the figures of Varaha—the boar incarnation of Vishnu. Later the Portuguese minted a silver coin of the same name. According to Dalgado gold varaha was equal to 360 reis and silver, 300 reis. See *Hobson-Jobson*, pp. 673-678.

71. The Dominicans established the Inquisition in India in 1560 and its headquarters were in the *Casa da Santa Inquisitione* or Palace of the Inquisition near the Cathedral. The inquisition was abolished in 1774. For an excellent modern account, see Fonseca, pp. 210 ff.
72. Governor of arms.
73. Chorao, island in Goa settlement between Goa and Bardez Islands. See map of Goa in Fonseca.
74. Divar, or Narva island about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles N. E. of Goa city. Fryer (Vol. II, p. 19) mentions that it was "famous for Curtisans".
75. De Capan or Vanxim mentioned among the Goa islands by Fonseca. (p. 4).
76. Cumbarjua (Fonseca, p. 4) and Juarim (vide Fonseca's map).
77. Santo Estevão—an island near Goa which was captured by Sambhaji in 1683.
78. Fryer (Vol. II, p. 21) also mentions this islet but Fonseca does not mention it among the islands of Goa.
79. A ilha de Manuel de Mota, locally known as Akaddo now.
80. Dongarim.

## CHAPTER VIII

1. Treating in this chapter.
2. Grow.
3. Not found elsewhere.
4. Describe with the Portuguese and Italian names all their trees.
5. All the "cuts" in the Italian edition were not reproduced in the English version published by the Churchills. They are not however faithful representations of the original plants.
6. *Palmera de cocos*—or coconut palms, have been described in full by almost all the travellers of this period. Linschoten devotes one whole chapter to this tree, Vol. II, Chap. 56.
7. *Sic*. Anything. After "elsewhere" add "as it provides all that is necessary itself".
8. *Palmyra* leaves are commonly used for writing purposes and Linschoten also testifies to the same use of tender white coconut leaves. "This the Indians use for paper, and bookes, which continueth in the same foldes, whereon they write when it is greene" (Linschoten, Vol. II, p. 50).
9. Food.
10. Trading commodity.
11. The reference is to the coir fibre. The fibre is exceptionally good for making light, elastic, strong and durable ropes that will stand continuous exposure to moisture and rain. Also see Linschoten, Vol. II, p. 46. "This Huske being drie and pulled off, is haire like hempe, whereof all the cordes and cables that are used throughout al India are made, as well upon the land as in the ships, . . . ."
12. Pears.
13. Commonly called chiechere. See Linschoten, Vol. II, p. 45.
14. Among the food products obtained from the palm are (i) cocoa-nut cabbage, (ii) young cocoa-nut (vern. *dab*), (iii) mature cocoa-nut (vern. *jhuna narkel*), (iv) juice and (v) the root. (Watt, Vol. II, p. 448). Also see Linschoten, Vol. II, pp. 46-47.
15. Almost like Artichokes, according to Linschoten, Vol. II, p. 46.
16. Burn in lamps.
17. For a better account of the process see Linschoten, Vol. II, p. 48.
18. Brandy.
19. When boiled black sugar is extracted from it.
20. To make sauces and many kinds of stew.
21. Keeps fresh a whole year.



22. The roofs.
23. The wild date or date-sugar palm, *Phoenix Sylvestris*, Vern. *khajur* indigenous to many parts of India.
24. The fruit of this palm has ordinarily three stones which in their tender stage consist of a shell of soft pulp with a small quantity of liquid inside. Both the pulp and the liquid are highly relished during the hot months of the summer.
25. And with the rind black outside they make ropes.
26. Cocoa-nut, *cocos nucifera*. It is called the monkey-coco by some writers (Barros, Linschoten, Garcia da Orta etc.) with reference to the appearance of the base of the shell with its three holes. (Hobson-Jobson, p. 228).
27. *Areca Catechu* or betel-nut palm, Vern. *supari*, *supyari*, cultivated throughout India. (Watt, Vol. I, pp. 291 ff).
28. It bears the areca.
29. The "figos da India" of the Portuguese are not figs at all but bananas. Discoursing on "figos" Garcia da Orta says that in Koukani, Deccani, Gujrati and Bengali languages they are called "quelli" (*keli*), in Malabar tongue "palam" and in Guinea "bananas". He also adds that the 'figos' of Martaban and Pegu are very good and they are known in Bengal as *Figos martabanis* (*martamān kalā*) (Orta—Vol. I, pp. 329-331). Linschoten probably quotes Garcia da Orta when he says (Vol. II, p. 40), "The Gusurates, Decanijns, Canarijns and Bengalers call them Quelli, the Malabares, Palan." We are also told by Pietro Della Valle that the "tree which the Arabians and Persians call Mouz (*Musa*) the Portugals in India Fichi d' India, Indian Fig trees." (Vol. II, p. 327).
30. More than four spans broad.
31. "Adam and Eve covered with these leaves what should not be seen in the earthly Paradise." Garcia da Orta refers to a story which he heard from a Franciscan monk (Vol. I, p. 331) that Adam ate this fruit when he first sinned. Linschoten repeats "And they do believe that this is the same fruits, which Adam did eate when hee sinned first." (Vol. II, p. 40). He prefers to identify it with the grapes from the land of promise mentioned in the Book of Moses. (Ibid).
32. It is still a common practice in Southern India to use the broad banana leaves instead of metal plates for serving the meals. Pietro Della Valle refers to this custom (Vol. II, p. 327). "Upon the said Leaf they had lay'd a good quantity of Rice, boyl'd, after their manner."
33. In Bengal small children used to be given big pieces of banana leaves to write on in the *pathshalas* before they were permitted the use of paper.
34. The cooking bananas. This was the variety known as figs of Cananore. See Linschoten, Vol. II, p. 39.
35. Linschoten also describes these figs which are "somewhat thicke". (Vol. II, p. 39).
36. *Mangifera Indica*, Vern. *ām*, *amba*. The name is derived from Tamil *man-kay* or *man-gay*, i.e., man fruit. The Portuguese form is *manga* from which we have *mango*. (Watt, Vol. V, pp. 146 ff).
37. Manucci says—"The best mangoes grow in the island of Goa. They have special names which are as follows : mangoes of *Niculao Affonso*, *Malaiasses*, *Carreira branca*, *Carreira vermelha*, of *Conde*, of *Joani Pereira*, *Babia* (large and round) of *Araup*, of *Porta*, of *Secreta*, of *Mainato*, of *Our Lady*, of *Agua de Lupe* (Vol. III, p. 180). Of the four varieties mentioned by Careri only one the *Salias* does not occur in Manucci's list, unless it is to be identified with *Secreta*. *Niculao Affonso* otherwise known as *Afuz* or *Hafuz* still retains its popularity and fetches a very high price.
38. Flavour.
39. In April, May and June.
40. Unripe and green.
41. Read 'at' for 'to'.

42. *Averrhoa Carambola*, Bengali *kamranga*. Linschoten thus writes about it, "There is another fruit called Carambolas, which hath 8 corners, as big as a small apple, sower in eating, like unripe plums, and most used to make conserves." (Vol. II, p. 33).
43. *Anona Reticulata*, Bengali *nona*, English "Bullock's heart."
44. In February, March and April.
45. *Anona squamosa*, custard apple of Europeans in India. Vern. *sharifah* or *sitaphal*, Beng. *ata*, *luna*. See Watt, Vol. I, pp. 259 ff.
46. *Anacardium occidentale*, cashew or *kaju nuts*, indigenous to Brazil, was introduced by the Portuguese in India. It is fairly common in the west Malabar and Coromandel coasts and grows well in Hijli littoral and Chittagong forests of Bengal where the Portuguese once had some settlements. For another account see Linschoten, Vol. II, Chap. 52. See also Forbes—*Oriental Memoirs* Vol. I, pp. 232 & 238.
47. Chest diseases.
48. *Eugenia Jambolana*, "The fruit, which is sometimes as large as a pigeon's egg and of a purple colour, is eaten by all classes of people: it is sub-acid and rather astringent and is improved in taste by being pricked and rubbed with a little salt and allowed to stand an hour." (Watt, Vol. III, pp. 285-286).
49. *Flacourtia Cataphracta*. Vern. *jan-gama*, *paniamalak*, *paniaonvola*, *taliasptri*, *paniamalak*. Taylor writes, "The fruit of this tree, which is of a purple colour, and of the size and appearance of a plum, is sold in the city during the rains". (*Topography of Dacca* cited in Watt, Vol. III, p. 398). See also Linschoten, Vol. II, p. 32.
50. *Garcinia indica*, "A slender tree with drooping branches, found on the Ghats of the Konkan and Kanara, most commonly in Southern Konkan, and considerably cultivated in gardens of that district. It bears a conspicuous spherical purple fruit, the size of a small orange, which ripens about April." "The juice of the fruit has long been employed as a mordant by dyers in South-Western India." "A valuable oil, 'Kokam butter' is obtained from the seeds of the fruit to the extent of about 30 per cent." (Watt, Vol. III, p. 467).
51. *Carissa Carandas*, Vern. *karaunda*, *karamcha*, etc. See Watt, Vol. II, pp. 165-66.
52. The rose-apple. Lat. *Eugenia*, Sansk. *Jambos*, *jambu*; Beng. *golap jam*. Garcia da Orta (II, pp. 25, 27) mentions it under the name *jambos*, and says (1563) that it had been recently introduced into Goa from Malacca. See Watt, Vol. III, p. 287.
53. The Papaya tree, *Carica Papaya*, Vern. *Pappaiya*, *pepiya*. Atkinson (cited in Watt, Vol. II, p. 159) regards it as introduced into India by the Portuguese. Watt says, "The non-Asiatic origin of the Papaw is conclusively proved by its not having been known before the discovery of America; by its having no Sanskrit name, and by the modern Indian names being evidently derived from the American word *papaya*, itself a corruption of the Carib *ababai*."
54. Gourd.
55. Omit "at dinner".
56. *Bergamot*. *Citrus aurantium*, "only rarely met with in India". (Watt, Vol. II, p. 347).
57. The bracketed comment is that of the translator, and does not occur in the original.
58. The jack-fruit tree. *Artocarpus integrifolia*. Vern. *kathal*, *kanthal*, *panas* etc. Manucci gives an interesting account of the tree and its fruit (Vol. III, pp. 182-183).
59. Omit "at least".
60. Rings for playing ball.
61. There are many yellow partitions, very sweet, and each of them with a kernel in it, hard as an acorn.
62. From March till September.
63. *Jambo*—Konkani *jambol*, Bengali, *jambul*, *Inga xilocarpa* (?)

64. Not "Pear" but "guava tree". Bengali *peyara*, Hindi *amrud*. *Psidium Guyava*, indigenous to South America was introduced into India by the Portuguese. It now grows all over the country. (Watt, Vol. VI, Part I, pp. 351-353).
65. *Cinnamomum zeylanicum*, Vern. *dalchini*.
66. *Citrus decumana*, English 'pumelo', Bengali *batapi nebu*. Careri is wrong in suggesting that the tree was brought from Africa. "A native of the islands of the Malay Archipelago, more particularly abundant in the Friendly Isles and Fiji. Introduced into India from Java and into the West Indies by Captain Shaddock; hence the name *Shaddock*. . . The vernacular name *batavi nebu* suggests its having been originally brought from Batavia." (Watt, Vol. II, pp. 348-349).
67. Bilimbi tree, *Averrhoa Bilimbi*—Vern. *bilimbi*, *belambu*. See Watt, Vol. I, p. 359.
68. The whole fruit is eaten, because it has no stone.
69. Vern. *amlaki*, *anuli*, *aonla*, etc., *Phyllanthus Emblica*, the Emblic Myrobalan. (Watt, Vol. VI, Part I, pp. 217-221). 'Amsaleira' and 'Amsale' in the Italian text.
70. *Ananas sativa*, Pineapple. A native of Brazil, it was introduced into Bengal by the Portuguese in 1594. (Watt, Vol. I, pp. 236-239).
71. Like the everlasting flower (not "onr House-leek").
72. Careri is obviously wrong. Each plant bears only one fruit; a big bush consisting of several plants may bear two or more. Manucci correctly states—"each plant yielding no more than one fruit." (Vol. III, p. 183).
73. and above half a span in diameter.
74. "Green", not "great" Artichoke.
75. This is obviously borrowed from Linschoten who says, "It is very hotte of nature, for if you let a knife sticke in it but halfe an hour long when you draw it forth again, it will be halfe eaten up." (Vol. II, pp. 19-20).
76. *Jasminum Sambac*, the Arabian Jasmine. Vern. *Mogra*, *Motia*. It is not confined to India but is found in Burma and Ceylon also. (Watt, Vol. IV, pp. 544-545).
77. Besides this difference, that the jasmine has but six leaves.
78. Cosimo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany from 1670 to 1723.
79. Having had to cross the Equator twice.
80. To be planted or placed.
81. *Sephalika* (Sans.) *Nyctanthes arbor tristis*. Linschoten says of the tree called *Arbore Triste*—"the tree is as great as a Plum Tree. . . . The flower being white, and in the bottome (somewhat) yellow and reddish which in India they use for Saffron, therewith to dresse their meats, and to die with all as (wee doe) with (our) Saffron, but it is neyther so good nor of so pleasant to taste, yet it serveth there, for want of the other." (Vol. II, pp. 59-60). Linschoten doubtless derived his information from Garcia da Orta (Vol. I, pp. 69-72). Many travellers refer to this tree. For an account of the tree and its products, see Watt, Vol. V, pp. 434-435.
82. Plum tree.
83. Although the flower is used for dyeing it does not produce saffron.
84. *Piper nigrum*, *gulmirch*, *kalimirch*. For an account of the plant and its cultivation see Watt, Vol. VI, Part I, pp. 260-267. Linschoten as usual devotes a chapter to various kinds of pepper, Vol. II, Chapter 62.
85. For what purpose it is used is well known in Europe and it comes in March, April and May.

Careri is wrong. The berries are not burnt to take off their seed value. "The fruit is gathered as soon as the berries at the base of the spike begin to change colour from green to red, since if allowed to ripen fully it becomes less pungent and easily falls off. . . . They are then dried by exposure to the sun or more frequently by the heat of a gentle fire." (Watt, Vol. VI, Part I, p. 261).



86. Betel, Hind. *pan*, the leaf of the *Piper betel* chewed with the dried areca-nut by the Indians and the Indo-Chinese. Almost every traveller has referred to the Indian and Luso-Indian habit of chewing betel. Linschoten's Chapter 60 deals with betel and areca. See Watt, Vol. VI, Part I, pp. 247-256.
87. In no part of Asia is it consumed better than in the Philippine islands.
88. A compound of bonga-fruit, betel leaves and lime for chewing.
89. To chew it at every moment like oxen, abroad and at home.
90. If the Italian ladies could obtain it they would pay for it its weight in gold.
91. *Calophyllum inophyllum* popularly known as *puna* in Goa (Dalgado, Vol. II, p. 229) "used for masts, spars etc" (Watt, Vol. II, p. 31).
92. *Mele Indiane*—in the Italian text is a literal rendering of *Maça da India* which however is not a real *maça* or apple. Conde de Ficalho identifies it with *jatiphal* or nutmeg. Garcia da Orta (Vol. II, pp. 81-89) calls it *jaiphal*, the fruit of which was called apple according to Linschoten (Vol. II, p. 84). Mace may conceivably be therefore a corruption of Port. 'Maca'. Careri's apple is not nutmeg which does not grow in India but a common country fruit. Dalgado says that *ber* is vulgarly called *Maça* or apple in Goa (Vol. I, p. 496). He quotes Bernardo da Costa who says, "In India the Jajuba tree is called *Maceira* (apple tree) in Portuguese and *bori* in Concani." The Indian apple is therefore *Zizyphus Jujuba* of the Botanists (Watt, Vol. VI, Part IV, pp. 367-370). Peter Mundy also mentions this fruit (Vol. V, p. 58, also footnote) which according to him the Portuguese called *Mansana*.
93. The pod of the Tamarind tree, *Tamarindus indica*, Vern. *Amlī*, *Imli*. (Watt, Vol. VI, Part III, pp. 404-9).
94. A misprint for pod; the Italian text is "L'albero è grande, e porta le frutta dentro una scorza, o guaina come i legumi." The tree is big and bears the fruit in a shell or pod like the bean.
95. Is *scararagam* a corruption of Deccani *Surpanka*? *Undi* is another name of *Puna*. Careri obviously did not see either the tree or its fruit.
96. *Michelia Champaca*. Vern. *Champa*, *Champaka*, etc. See Watt, Vol. V, pp. 241-43.
97. Grows not as a tree but as a low plant.
98. *Mimusops Elengi* Vern. *mulvari*, *maulser* etc. Known as *ovalli*, *wouli* etc. in Bombay and *bakula* in Bengal. In the summer months, the tree produces small fragrant flowers. (Watt, Vol. V, pp. 249-51). I am indebted to Prof. Pissurlencar for helping me in identifying this.
99. Strange.
100. *Quegada cheirosa* or sweet-scented *quegada*. *Pandanus Odoratissimus*, Bengali *keora*, *ketaki*. Konkani *kagad*, *kegdi*. "A common much branched shrub, frequently planted on account of the powerful fragrance of its flowers but wild on the coasts of South India, Burma and the Andamans. It is found abundantly in Bengal, Madras, the Straits Settlements and the South Sea Islands." (Watt, Vol. VI, Part I, pp. 5-6); see also Dalgado, Vol. II, p. 233.
101. *Origanum Marjorana*, the sweet marjoram, Beng. *ban tulsī*. Vern. *murru*. (Watt, Vol. V, pp. 493-94).
102. *Padolim* may be a corruption of Konkani *Pauri* or *Pandhri* by which name two different plants are known. *Bauhinia alba* gives a showy flower like all *Bauhinias* but its fruit can by no stretch of imagination be likened to a water melon or cucumber. The fruit is somewhat like a broad bean. The other is *Strychnos Colubrina*, the 'snake wood' of Linschoten (Vol. II, pp. 104-5) and 'Pau de Cobra' of Garcia da Orta (Vol. II, pp. 181 ff), and is still less likely to be Careri's *padolim*.
103. Showy.
104. Water melon.
105. Green flowers are admittedly rare. Two occur in Bengal. Of the two only one can be described as "coming from a low plant" and is a garden flower as well. Careri's *Pachaa* may therefore be identified with the flower known as *kantali champa* (*Artabotrys Odoratissimus*) in Bengal. It is indigenous to southern parts of Western India but is cultivated throughout the country.

106. Marathi *tenduli* or *tendli*, Bengali *telakucha*, *Cephalandra indica* (Watt, Vol. II, p. 252; Dalgado, Vol. II, p. 366). Careri is wrong about the flower which is pure white and not red. The fruit when ripe is scarlet.
107. *Inhame do Cao*. English *yam* or sweet potato. It is a tuberous root and not a fruit. Dalgado suggests that it is probably *Dioscorea alata* (Vol. I, p. 469). See Watt, Vol. III, pp. 126-27; also *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 977. Linschoten also speaks of *Iniamos* and *Batutas* as fruits (Vol. II, p. 42).
108. Better flavoured.
109. Potato, *Solanum tuberosum*, Vern. *alu*. Bomb. *batata*. See Watt, Vol. VI, Part III, pp. 265 ff.) Linschoten's *batatas* were probably some kind of yams. "The *Batatas* are somewhat red of colour, and of fashion almost like the *Iniamos*, but sweeter, of taste like an earth Nut." (Vol. II, p. 42).
110. Herbs.
111. Pumpkins.
112. Cabbages.

## BOOK II

### CHAPTER I

1. Hind. *begari* from Pers. *begar*, 'forced labour' (*be*—without, *gar*—kar, 'one who works'); a person pressed to carry a load or do other work really or professedly for public service" (*Hobson-Jobson*, pp. 80-81).
2. Cooking utensils. Omit "for dressing of meat."
3. Pass of Dangim which lies about a mile east of Goa town on the Mandavi river and is shown on the map of Goa settlement inserted in Danvers, Vol. II. Passo is not really a mountain pass but a crossing place as Linschoten explains. There were five of these, (1) Passo de Saint Iago (2) Tebe de Passo (3) Passo de Dangijn (4) Passo de Norwa and (5) Passo de Pangijn (Linschoten, Vol. I, pp. 180-181). Careri took his boat at Dangim, went down the river and crossed to the main land at St. Iago.
4. A fortified town in the district of the same name about nine miles from Goa town (*Bombay Presidency Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 562; Manucci, Vol. II, p. 263 & n. 3).
5. Dom Fr. Agostinho de Annuniação was the contemporary archbishop. He was also a member of the commission in charge of the administration prior to Conde de Vilaverde's arrival.
6. Sao Braz near Daugim.
7. St. Iago further south-east. For both these places see Danvers' map.
8. Cannot be found in a modern map. Is it Hurcun?
9. Probably Congee (the water in which rice has been boiled). See *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 245.
10. Mar. *Shimga*, the Holi festival.
11. Hind. *khichari*. See Thevenot, Part III, Book I, Chap. XXIX, Note 8.
12. Mardol in Ponda District, north of the town of Ponda.
13. Obviously a misprint for Benches; the Italian text has "all 'intorno sono bassi scanni per sedere."
14. Ends.
15. One of those great trees.
16. With a staircase of large stone steps.
17. Bicholim to the north of Goa. The Portuguese recaptured the fort from the Sardesais of Kudal in 1746 (Danvers, Vol. II, pp. 417, 429).
18. Subahdar. The head of the province under Akbar was officially styled the *sipah-salar*. He was popularly called subahdar and later only *subah*.
19. Ikhlās Khan Pani (?)
20. Drums, fifes, trumpets and other military instruments.



21. The reference is to the Holi festival. For a detailed account see Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. II, Ch. XL.
22. Hind. *chira*, a turban made of parti-coloured cloth. See Platts, *Dict. of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English*, p. 470.
23. Then mounted.
24. Various flags.
25. Exchanging.
26. Put the *chira* with his own hands on his head.
27. Sash of gold brocade.
28. Envoy.
29. Omit "vest or".
30. Nazr, nazar, najar. "A present, an offering, especially one from an inferior to a superior, to a holy man, or to a prince" (Wilson's *Glossary*, pp. 595-96).
31. Carlina, Carlin (Fr.), Carlino (It.). A silver coin first struck by Charles (Carlo) of Anjou, King of Naples and Sicily, originally equivalent to about four pence.
32. Count of Alvor and Viceroy of Goa. For his attack on and discomfiture at Ponda see Manucci, Vol. II, pp. 262-263, also Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. IV, pp. 273-276; Danvers, Vol. II, p. 369.
33. "Eight hundred white soldiers and eight thousand Canarese", says Manucci. According to Danvers 1200 of the troops were Europeans but Manucci was better informed as he was at Goa at the time.
34. Shambhaji, not Shivaji. It should be noticed that Careri treats the personal name of the first Maratha king as a common title for his successors.
35. Shambhaji razed the fort to the ground and built another nearby. Careri obviously confuses Persian *mardan*, men, with Sanskrit *mardana*, crushing, destruction. The fort was probably so named because the Portuguese army was crushed here. *Mardan* does not necessarily mean valiant men.
36. Kiladar from Arabic *qala* "a fort" which is pronounced 'kila' in India. The commandant of a fort, castle or garrison.
37. Monday, March 7th.
38. Woman whom the kindred etc.
39. Free performance of "sati" was prohibited in the Mughal empire and the permission of the local governor had to be obtained before a widow could burn herself with the dead husband. The case witnessed by Careri appears to be an instance of voluntary self-immolation though his suspicions about "the price of great presents" may be fully justified. Also see Roe, pp. 105-271, Peter Mundy, Vol. II, pp. 24-36, 179-180, Pyrard, Vol. I, pp. 378, 394, Mandelslo, pp. 55-56, Manucci, Vol. III, pp. 60, 65-66, Tavernier, Vol. II, pp. 162-168, Bernier, pp. 306-314, Dellon, Ch. XVII.
40. About 9 o'clock in the evening, literally "about 21 hours".
41. Come.
42. Stretched out.
43. Small pieces of wood greased with oil.
44. Francois Pyrard however says, "The Gentile women, who burn themselves after the death of their husbands, first take off all their trinkets, and give them to whom they will" (Vol. I, p. 378).
45. Our little camp.
46. When nobody pursues.
47. *Bhang* from H. *bhang*, Skt. *bhangā*, the dried leaves and small stalks of hemp (*Cannabis indica*). For an account of the drug and its numerous preparations, see Watt, Vol. II, pp. 103 ff. For a 17th century account of the plant, its use and misuse, see Linschoten, Vol. II, pp. 116-117. Aurangzeb forbade its use, see Manucci, Vol. II, p. 7.
48. In.
49. Ghats.
50. By.
51. Bakhshi or paymaster of the forces. The officer at the imperial headquarters.



was styled mir bakhshi. For the origin of the term and the functions of the bakhshi, see Ibn Hasan, pp. 213 ff.

52. Cianpon in the Italian text, not to be found in modern maps.
53. Material.
54. Food to be prepared.
55. Wishing.
56. Probably the Rachol river.
57. Ruler of Sonda. The contemporary chief was Sadashive Naik the ablest of his dynasty, who assumed the title of Raja.
58. At the end of nine cosses, (each cosse is two Italian miles) we spent the night at the village of Kakore.
59. Cacora in Chandrovaddi district, south-east of Ponda? (see Fonseca's map).
60. Like the Portuguese, Careri means by India the Malabar coast alone and not the entire country.
61. They feed the monkeys with particular care and arrange that they shall not be killed.
62. Or.
63. Do not wish to work.
64. Baboons or dog-headed monkeys are now to be found in Arabia and Africa. It had become extinct in India long before Careri visited this country. European travellers generally used the words baboon and ape indiscriminately for all monkeys. Of the apes or tail-less monkeys only the gibbon occurs in India. Gibbons however are not to be found in Malabar.

The stories are in all probability apocryphal. Though it is not physically impossible for man-like apes to have such relations with human females authentic records of such cases are naturally lacking. There is however a widespread belief in its prevalence. The Tibetans think that they are descended from an ape. A story of another such union is to be found in the *Arabian Nights* (ed. Burton, Vol. IV, pp. 297-299). Burton refers to a case mentioned in the *Ajaib-al-Hind* of man having children by a she-ape. But *Ajaib-al-Hind* admittedly deals more with fiction than with facts and Burton heard of an incident which is more to the point. An Abyssinian baboon, he says, once "attempted to rape a girl in the public street and was prevented by a sentinel's bayonet". A mandrill, another African baboon, in the Calcutta Zoo invariably became obscene in its behaviour whenever a woman came in view. Briffault writes on the authority of de Garcia that Igorot girls of the Philippines were believed to go into the woods and have connexion with monkeys (Elwin, *The Maria and their Ghotul*, p. 278).

65. Not being able to resist any longer.
66. The idolater being afraid that he would be punished, the Portuguese removed it himself out of the cottage and buried it.
67. Baboons are not to be found in Brazil, some other monkey is meant.
68. From the roof to the kitchen.
69. Read "Italian miles".
70. Bojata seems to be a corruption of Portuguese *boyada*, a train of transport bullocks. In Chapter V, Book II, Careri uses the words *bojata* and *caravana* as synonymous. In the English translation (p. 232) it is rendered as caravan of oxen, but bullocks seem more likely to have been used for this purpose.
71. Loaded like horses.
72. In flavour.
73. Careri might have seen a grey jungle fowl *Gallus Sonneratii* which occurs widely in South India.
74. Bomanhalli village in Supa sub-division of North Kanara dist., Bombay (*Kanara Dist. Gaz.*, Part I, p. 33).
75. Hind. *chauki*, a customs or toll station. Also a police station. (*Hobson-Jobson*, pp. 205-206).
76. Not shown in modern maps.
77. I stayed overnight four cosses further at Sambrani.



78. A large village about five miles south of Haliyal in North Kanara dist., Bombay. "Colonel Wellesley in 1799 described it as a large and well stocked village" (*Kanara Dist. Gaz.*, Part II, p. 340).
79. Setting out from Sambrani.
80. Fort of the territory of Alcal. Probably Haliyal, to the north of Sambrani, the headquarters of the Supa sub-division in North Kanara dist., Bombay (*Kanara Dist. Gaz.*, Part II, p. 304).
81. Wait.
82. Hanuman, the monkey-god, worshipped by Hindus throughout India.
83. "Animante" in the Italian text is obviously Careri's rendering of *Hanumanta* and is not to be taken in the literal sense as has been done by the translator.
84. Kakeri, a small village about twenty-eight miles south-east of Belgaum. (*Belgaum Dist. Gaz.*, p. 377).
85. Stayed overnight.
86. Itgi, twelve miles north of Kakeri (*Belgaum Dist. Gaz.*, p. 377).
87. Grazing.
88. Through fertile country.
89. Tigdi (*Belgaum Dist. Gaz.*, p. 378).
90. Vanur (*Ibid.*, p. 378).
91. The Italian text has "Mercordi 15" which must be a mistake if Monday was the 14th. The translator's emendation is therefore quite justified.
92. Mamdapur, ten miles south-east of Gokak, in Belgaum district, Bombay. (*Belgaum District Gaz.*, p. 378).
93. Betgeri.
94. Stayed overnight.
95. Great Mughal towns.
96. Crafty and experienced thieves.
97. Negligence.
98. Dexterously.
99. Careri here obviously writes of the Thugs. It is interesting to note that in the closing years of the seventeenth century the operations of these gangs had spread so far south. Fryer mentions a gang of fifteen apprehended and hanged near Surat (Vol. I, pp. 244-245). A much bigger party, about 100 strong, was captured at Bangalore in 1799 (Mackenzie, quoted in *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 916). Their headquarters were mostly in Central and Northern India when they were finally suppressed by Sleeman.
100. Through a large village.
101. Kalligudi situated in 75° 6' E. and 16° 9' N.
102. Yadvad, twenty-five miles east of Gokak. (*Belgaum Dist. Gaz.*, p. 278).
103. The goods afterwards are transported to the camp at Galgala by retailers.
104. Mudhol, capital of a small state of the same name, on the left bank of the Ghatprabha river, now under the jurisdiction of Kolhapur. (See *Bombay Presidency Gaz.*, Vol. II, pp. 537-38).

## CHAPTER II

1. Mantur (6° 23' N. and 75° 22' E.) midway between Mudhol and Galgali.
2. Galgali, a large village on the Kistna, 32 miles south-west of Bijapur in the Bijapur district, Bombay. After Shambhaji's execution in 1689, Aurangzeb moved with his grand army from Brahmmapuri in Sholapur to Galgali hoping to draw the Marathas southward. See *Bijapur Dist. Gaz.*, pp. 648-649.
3. The Kistna or Krishna river.
4. Lascar. Pers. *Lashkar*, 'an army' 'a camp'. Laskari is a corrupt form of the word prevalent among the Portuguese and other Europeans. It is vulgarly used for a sailor but here it means a military camp, see *Hobson-Jobson*, pp. 507-509.
5. Manucci mentions one Francisco Borges who was at San Thome in 1704 (Vol. VI, p. 67).



6. From then until 1 o'clock.
7. Qazi or Kazi, see Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. I, Ch. X, Note 3.
8. Literally the red barrier by which name the red painted bamboo network screen put up around the imperial tents was known. The Imperial quarters as such were not called the gulalbar. See Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 199.
9. Defended on every side.
10. Harem. Ar. *harem*, *harim* commonly applied to the ladies' apartment and also to ladies (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 411).
11. A misprint for 100,000. The Italian text has 10 m.
12. In circumference. For the strength of Mughal cavalry, see Thevenot, Book I, Chap. II, Note 28.
13. Many lands.
14. Jagirs. Assignments of land made to the officials of the State by way of payment of their remuneration. Moreland, *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, pp. 92 ff.
15. Ghari (?) the subdivision of a village as in Delhi district. (Wilson's *Glossary*, p. 271).
16. Though these generals have so great rents to accumulate vast wealth.
17. Only by.
18. Widow.
19. The king of Persia follows a similar practice.
20. *Wakil-i-mutlaq* or *Divan-i-mutlaq*, vicegerent (Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 37).
21. Told me in this connection that.
22. This is a mistake. Barley (Hind. *jau*, Lat. *Hordeum Vulgare*) grows in many parts of India.
23. Probably *chana* is meant. For horses' fodder allowed in the imperial stables. See *Ain*, Vol. I, pp. 134-135.
- 23a. The portion in italics is not in Italian original but inserted by the translator.
24. The system of making over elephants to the nobles was introduced by Akbar. "He (Akbar) therefore put several *halqa*hs (groups of baggage elephants) in charge of every grandee, and required him to look after them." (*Ain*, Vol. I, p. 126). Elephants were classified into seven grades, and their food varied with the class. For instance, large *mast* elephants got as much as 2 maunds 24 seers, and *mokals* got 8-26 seers for food (*Ain*, Vol. I, p. 124).
25. Shah Alam, Muhammad Muazzam, the second son of Aurangzeb, who was born on the 30th Rajab, 1053 H. (October 14, 1643). He succeeded his father as Bahadur Shah I (1707) and died in 1712 (Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, Vol. I, pp. 71-72; Irvine, *The Later Mughals*, Vol. I, p. 135). At the time of Careri's visit (1695), he was the eldest surviving son, Muhammad Sultan, the first-born, having died in prison in 1676. He was 52 at the time and not 65.
26. Awaiting.
27. While I was waiting I saw the son.
28. Dismounted.
29. Stout.
30. *Naubat* and *Naubat khana*. "A free space, as extensive as may be convenient or practicable, is always kept in front of the royal entrance, and at its extremity there is a large tent called *Nagar Kane* (*Naqqar khana*=*Naubat khana*) because it contains the trumpets and cymbals" (Bernier, p. 363). The music was played eight times in twenty four hours, but sometimes to announce good news an extra blare was made (Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 207-209).
31. Made their noisy concert about 3 P.M. by Italian time.
32. This is the *Kaukabah* mentioned in the *Ain* (Vol. I, p. 50). Steingass describes it as "a polished steel ball suspended from a long pole and carried as an ensign before the king" (Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 32).
33. *Panjah*. See Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 31-32.